1962-1963 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents
Socialist Education League/League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists
**Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1962

1962-01Jan18	Letter to Toronto CPC re: reply to invitation to join picket
1962-01Jan	B.C. NDP leaders urge protests against (*Vanguard*) ban
*1962-Jan	Edit – Ont. By-election results warning to all NDPers
*1962-Jan	Dief screens US role -Vietnam civil war
1962-01Jan	What Castro really said about Marxism-Leninism
*1962-Jan	Interview-Francisco Juliao, Brazilian peasants tribune (on file)
1962-02Feb	Across Country with the NDP – 40 hr work week
1962-02Feb	Need a new one (new system), Money problems
*1962-Feb	Edit – For a referendum on nuclear arms
1962-02Feb	Honor Natalia Trotsky - Cuban ambassador speaks -FPCC
1962-03Mar5	Letter to Ruth (T.) re: decision that Ernie come out to BC
1962-03Mar	*Vanguard* – Sask. NDP sets Health Plan date
*1962-Mar	We the people must vote on Canadian nuclear arms
*1962-Mar	Edit –Support for Referendum (nuclear arms) growing
*1962-Mar	Raise sights in (Vanguard) fund drive
*1962-Mar	Castro hits out against factionalists, sectarians (on file)
1962-03Mar	Fair Play challenges – increase Cuban trade!
1962-03Mar	Across Country with the NDP – Expulsions off (in BC)
1962-04Apr9	Letter to Ruth T.: RD's frustration with ex-Branch 1
1962-04Apr	*Vanguard*- Elect the NDP – Halt nuclear arms drive

*1962-Apr	Join the struggle to elect an NDP government June 18
*1962-Apr	Editorial – For an NDP government
*1962-Apr	Castro attacks bureaucracy – Denounces Escalante (on file)
1962-04Apr	Vanguard sustaining drive rolling ahead of schedule
1962-04Apr	Teamsters Quebec & Ontario hit the bricks
1962-06June18	Note to Shriver, YSA-New York: reference re John R.
1962-06Jun	Who will rule Canada – Labor or Capital?
1962-06Jun	Teamsters solid, tie-up Que.Ont. (Local 938)
1962-06Jun	Trailblazers head west – *Vanguard* drive tops goal
1962-06Jun	The Socialists and the NDP (pamphlet review)
*1962-Jun	Working the old con game ('balance of power'?)
*1962-Jun	Laos – Another Korea? (US troops pouring in)
1962-07July17	Letter to Des, Vancouver re: personnel for tour
1962-07July22	Letter to Bob, Ocean Falls (BC) re RD's hope to visit Cuba
1962-07July	Sask. NDP gov't firm Doctors (won't) ruin medicare-C.O.
1962-07July	Edit-How can the NDP go forward now?
1962-07July	Ont. Drivers solid but leaders sag (Teamsters Local 938)
1962-07July	Report from travelling socialists (*Vanguard* tour)
*1962-July-	What is meaning of Cuban Revolution to Canadians?
1962-08Aug21	Letter to Ernie, Vanguard tour re Dick F. joining it
1962-08Aug	Militants draw conclusions as Teamsters strike ended
*1962-08Aug	Sask. NDP wins medicare - Yield much to doctors
1962-08Aug	Toronto poets fight speech limiting law

1962-09Sept19	LSA letter (G. Houle?) to Ross (abroad) re League affairs
1962-09Sept	Winnipeg NDP: time for the Left to stand up (tour report)
*1962-Sept	Edit -Ont. NDP starts debate on how to build party
*1962-Sept	Ranks of British LP example to Canadian labor
*1962-Sept	Strong left wing demand purge end
1962-10Oct	B.C. NDYouth calls for 'decisive changes' by Ernest Tate
1962-10Oct	“Unite to build NDY” is Left's answer to Right wing split
1962-10Oct	Socialists active on Prairies (Vanguard trailblazers report)
*1962-Oct	Edit – NDP brass program will not end crisis – debate
*1962-Oct	No Polaris missiles (in Britain) say British unions
*1962-Oct	Political action of British unions (by Dowson in G.B.
*1962-Oct	British youth keep banned paper going (Keep Left)
*1962-Oct	RD hand document ‘’Interview with Peng’’ on Chinese CP(file)
*1962-Oct	RD document on Chinese CP leaders (on file)
1962-11Nov14	Letter to H.T., ON: defence of public secular education
1962-11Nov28	Letter to editor, Toronto Telegram: RD as mayoralty candidate prevented from speaking to most public rallies
1962-11Nov	Mass B.C. Rally condemns Kennedy (Cuba invasion threat)
1962-11Nov	Photo – US pacifist at Fair Play for Cuba defends Cuba
1962-11Nov	Cuba crisis debated at B.C. NDP convention (by E. Tate)
*1962-Nov	(Cuban) Crisis sparks British protests (RD in GB)
1962-11Nov	Ont. unionists reaffirm NDP is the party of workers
1962-12Dec1	Letter to Gwen McEwen; busy with election; invitation
1962-12Dec9a	Letter to Dick (F.,Mtl.) re PSQ leaders free to go to Cuba?

1962-12Dec9b	Note to Dick, Mtl.: meeting the S's in Toronto
1962-12Dec10	Letter to Ernie & Ruth (Van.) Press story re expelled youth
1962-12Dec11	Letter to Edith & Bob (S) re Cuba, books, Toronto visit
1962-12Dec	LSA campaigned for labor in Toronto municipal vote
1962-12Dec	Photo: Mayoralty candidate Ross Dowson speaking
1962-12Dec	Protest witch-hunt in West Coast NDP
1962-12Dec	Open Letter from the expelled B.C. (ND)Youth
1962-12Dec	Renew drive to A-arm Canada - CLC opposes arms
1962-12Dec	How the Ottawa NDP Caucus acted when heat was on
1962-12Dec	Prairie NDP backs Cuba during crisis
1962-12Dec	(NDP) Right wing meets secretly
**1962-Decwv81*	*Stop RCMP methods from disrupting NDP*

1963

1963-01Jan9	Letter to the Toronto CPC re actions in defense of CPUSA
1963-01Jan21a	Clipping: *Vancouver Province*: ''Trotskyites are 'small-c' Communists'' (not the Moscow-type)
1963-01Jan21c	Clipping: U of T Varsity: photo Ross Dowson: ''Communists too right wing; Trotskyites back New Party''
1963-01Jan	Stop the drive to nuclear-arm Canada!
1963-01Jan	Defiance by B.C. MLA Cox setback to NDP witch-hunt
1963-01Jan	Photo NDYers; Police crack down on anti-bomb demo
1963-02Feb	No nuclear arms for Canadians
1963-02Feb	NDP Leader T.C. Douglas blasts US intervention

1963-02Feb	Alta. NDP leadership convention – for public ownership
1963-02Feb	Castro's speech to the Women's Conference (Title page)
1963-02Feb	**Castro's speech to the Women's Conference**
1963-03Mar	No nuclear arms for Canada Vote NDP April 8
*1963-Mar	NDP is out to win power – Don't toss your vote away
1963-03Mar	Cox's reports on Cuba cheered by West Coast crowds
1963-03Mar	Russell protests – (Toronto) Anti-bombers beat charges
1963-03Mar	A call to immediate action – funding special election issue
1963-03Mar	Emotional about nuclear arms? Vote NDP!
*1963-Mar	Liberals' Red Smear to silence NDP on NATO stand (file)
1963-03Mar	To supporters of Vanguard (second part - fund drive)
*1963-Apr18	Mail from NDP - refusal John Glenn membership (file)
1963-04Apr	Quebec NDP fields record (candidates) -see breakthrough
*1963-Apr	Tory-Liberal bi-partisan policy – (stop with) NDP vote
1963-04Apr	Business dictatorship scored by Douglas
1963-04Apr	Photo – NDP leader joins Coca Cola strikers in Hamilton
1963-04Apr	4 Canadians breach wall 'round Cuba (Fair Play booklet)
1963-05May	B.C. NDPers organize caucus (analyze elections)
1963-05May	Ont. NDP top brass launch witch-hunt in Youth Group
1963-05May	Meaning of NDP vote and what's
1963-06Jun	Sask. Doctors attempt to sabotage medicare
1963-06Jun	NDP is only hope to stop arms race
1963-06Jun	Battle's on against Ont. NDP witch-hunt- Youth fight...

1963-06Jun	B.C. NDP left wing takes steps to organize caucus
1963-06Jun	In memory of Paddy Stanton—poem by Joe Rosenblatt
1963-07Jul	Quebec Socialist Party organized (will ally with NDP)
*1963-Jul	NDP Assembly must draw Two-year balance sheet
*1963-Jul	Editorial: The issues at Trial of the FLQ
*1963-Jul	Fourth International reunited (heals 10-year split) (on file)
1963-07Jul	Ottawa picket against arrest of Peruvian leader Blanco
1963-07Jul	Vanguard tour report on Ontario experiences; BC drive
1963-07Jul	Thinking it over – On the birth of our baby (Ruth Mitchell)
1963-08Aug	Gov't disavows test ban signature – Canada nuclear club
1963-08Aug	Talks peace, prepares war
1963-08Aug	Demonstrate solidarity with Negro march on Washington
1963-08Aug	A Socialist Manifesto for the NDP (BC Socialist Caucus)
1963-08Aug	Presented by B.C. Socialist Caucus
1963-08Aug	Where is NDP Youth going?
1963-08Aug	The Maritimes warm up to the (*Vanguard)* trailblazers
*1963-Aug	Federal rally shows NPD rooted (organically labor)
1963-09Sept	LSA holds national rally in Vancouver
1963-09Sept	Quebec, Maritimes (politics) scanned by Trailblazers
*1963-Sept	Negroes in US organize defence guiards against racists (file)
*1963-Sept	Dief drives the point home on nuclear warheads
*1963-Sept	For unity in the NDP! Time to change course
#1963-10Oct1a	Hugh Dowson Affair- NDP letter to UAW -refusal credentials

#1963-10Oct1b	Part 2: Jan.7 1964 letter from UAW to Local 112
#1963-10Oct1c	Part 3: Jan.27 1964 letter from Local 112 UAW to NDP MP
1963-10Oct17	Letter to Toronto LSA, Nelson request transfer Montreal
1963-10Oct	(undated) flyer ‘’Help wanted in Cuba’’ (Hurricane Flora)
1963-10Oct	**N**DP election defeat provokes ranks policy debate
1963-10Oct	Last call for action against US A-Bomb on Canadian soil
1963-10Oct	Socialism and separatism – Parti Socialiste du Québec issue
1963-10Oct	Appeal from Peru (Hugo Blanco faces military trial)
1963-10Oct	Toronto banquet opens Cox's international tour (on Cuba)
*1963-Oct	Help Cuba! (Hurricane Flora devastation)
1963-11Nov5	Letter to Hannah (New York?) on books, publishing poetry
*1963-Nov	Conference launches Parti Socialiste du Québec (on file)
1963-11Nov	West Coast NDP moves left (under) leaders of defeat
1963-11Nov	Fair Play for Cuba Statement (on Kennedy assassination)
*1963-11Nov	Editorial: Let the truth be heard on the assassination
1963-11Nov	Anti-bomb group debates policy – shake-out in leadership
1963-11Nov	With the NDP Across Country (notes)
1963-11Nov	What are they afraid of? (UAW delegate Dowson excluded)
*1963-Nov	Stirring convention launches Parti Socialiste du Quebec (file)
1963-12Dec	Cost of living reaches peak
*1963-Dec	Union support open to PSQ – Quebec convention (on file)
*1963-Dec	Danger from Right but Left in peril (Kennedy murder)
*1963-Dec	Smearing the Trotskyists (on assassination)

*1963-Dec	Program of SPQ hammered out at second meeting (on file)
1963-12Dec	Vital new paper (Young Socialist Forum – new format)

The League for Socialist Action

81 Queen Street West
Toronto, Ont.
January 18, 1962

Metro Committee of the Communist Party of Canada
24 Cecil Street
Toronto

Dear Comrades;

Thanks for your letter of January 9

We note your announcement of a protest picket at the US Consulate for February 1 from 12 to 1 p.m. and your invitation to join the picket. We will make an effort to have as many persons as possible there to help make the picket an effective protest demonstration.

We also note that you call this picket an "initial" public action. Does this mean that very shortly we can anticipate your arranging, as we previously suggested, a meeting of interested persons or organizations to discuss and arrange further actions? We sincerely hope so.

The circumstances and conditions surrounding the picket already planned pose some difficult problems which in our opinion may considerably restrict and limit its success. Only persons who are unemployed, self-employed or working in the immediate downtown area are available at that time. Of course those who made the decision to proceed may well have taken this into account, and granted there are other factors to be considered, but these circumstances considerably restrict our members, friends and associates from participating.

It is not clear to us if this picket is going to appear with an anonymous face, as a group of publicly spirited citizens, or as a Communist Party picket with persons desiring to participate being restricted to appear behind signs designating it as Communist Party and slogans expressing the viewpoint of the Communist Party, or, whether other designations and slogans are to be permitted (slogans of course which are not at cross purposes with one another)

Perhaps the question immediately above could be cleared up by hastily calling a meeting of the most interested parties. We would be available immediately upon notification. Should you not be prepared to arrange such a meeting would you inform us of the precise character of the picket as soon as possible. I can be contacted at Em 6 1454 at almost any time.

Whatever your decisions with regards to this initial project it would seem to us that there is considerable advantage in calling a meeting of all interested parties so that future activities in defence of the rights of the Communist Party of United States could be assured of the greatest possible success

fraternally

Ross Dowson

The Workers
Vanguard

Vol. 6, No. (11) (71) Mid-January, 1962 23

BC NDP LEADERS URGE PROTESTS GAINST BAN

Three prominent leaders of the British Columbia New Democratic Party, Cedric Cox, Hugh Clifford and May Campbell, have issued an appeal to all members of the NDP to protest the threatened proscription of the **Vanguard** and **Press.**

Their statement urges immediate action against the provincial executive's directive circulated in early December to all club and association secretaries that "distribution of the **Vanguard** or of the **Press** by a member of the party is regarded as grounds for expulsion." In their statement that is being widely circulated throughout the party they uphold the free circulation by members of the party of such papers as the **Vanguard** and **Press** as a factor to "further strengthen the NDP."

Cox is a NDP-CCF member of the BC Legislature, May Campbell is a longtime leading activist on the Island and Hugh Clifford a leader on the North Shore who has carried the CCF banner in federal elections.

Their statement reads: "Should the papers referred to be unknown to you the following information is pertinent; (1) they are not the organs of any political party; (2) they support the NDP; (3) on occasion they express criticism of policy; (4) it has never been shown that the content of these papers is not in the interest of the NDP.

"Many of us are of the opinion that the directive and the penalty prescribed are ill-considered. We believe all views of socialism in their written expression and otherwise must have free circulation by members of the party to further strengthen the NDP. We are writing personally to the provincial executive to so inform them.

"We invite you to join with us. Action should be taken before January 15th. Only members in good standing should write. Should you feel disinclined to write a lengthy letter we suggest you simply inform the executive by postcard that you do not consider the directive to be in the best interest of the NDP. Communications should be addressed to the Provincial Executive, New Democratic Party, Room 102, 517 East Broadway, Vancouver 10, B.C.

Van Clubs Decry Face Inquiry

"We might as well find out right now whether this New Democratic Party is going to be fit for socialists to live in," said a veteran lawyer-Marxist to Hugh Clifford as he handed Clifford his letter of protest to be mailed to the B.C. New Democratic Party provincial executive. This seems

(See Page 3—BAN ON)

Ban on Vanguard a Prophesy of a Witch Hunt in B.C. NDP?

(Continued from Page 1)

to very neatly sum up the reaction of many old socialists and new members of the NDP to the November 18 ukase of the B.C. provincial executive.

This dictatorial first step of the provincial executive against the democratic right of members to read, write, and distribute to their associates and others, socialist and working class ideas, was reaffirmed at the December 16 meeting of the executive. The affirmation had to be won with the promise that an "explanation" limiting the directive would be issued.

The "explanation" appears over the names of R. M. Strachan, provincial leader, Tom Berger, provincial president, and Mrs. Jessie Mendels, provincial secretary. It excuses the action of the executive on the grounds that "some members in the past have distributed these papers . . . as expressing the views and objectives of the new Democratic Party".

This is a new twist on an old twister that both **Press** and **Vanguard** have gained their undoubted popularity through being circulated under the guise of official organs of the New Democratic Party. The authors of the "explanation" have been unable to bring forth a shred of evidence to support their assertion that **Press** and **Vanguard** do not express views compatible with socialist objectives and tolerable within the NDP.

Typical of the reaction of some of the youth is the comment of Dave Forsyth, president of the Vancouver East ND Youth, who said, "Personally I don't favor the line of **Vanguard** but I support this protest motion because the executive's action leads in the direction of saying I may not read the paper".

The youth see the principle involved and the adults see this **and** recall the bonfires for books and ideas which have flamed during their lives.

In the days of the CCF many became familiar with the actions of self-righteous, bigotted, right wing hardy perennial, Frank McKenzie, self-appointed censor of political morals in the now defunct CCF. His political morals included total dedication to NATO and public expression of this support regardless of the majority vote of the membership. McKenzie, now NDP provincial executive member, holds his membership in the NDP in the North Vancouver Constituency and was doubtless galled that the first protest against the ban came from there just five days after the circularising of the directive.

The provincial constituency of Vancouver Centre was the next to voice opposition with a strong protest against the action. Now both constituencies are under scrutiny from the provincial executive. Vancouver Centre is being examined for alleged irregularities in the status of persons elected to its executive. North Vancouver is being investigated on vague complaints presented by McKenzie's own Lionsgate club. Part of the committee's instruction is to try to establish grounds on which to lay charges.

Such a chain of events is foreign to both democracy and socialism and will disrupt and destroy the New Democratic Party if the authoritarians are not checked. The circular letter by Hugh Clifford, Mrs. May Campbell, and Cedric Cox, M.L.A., printed elsewhere in this issue is an important contribution in this struggle. The letter has received wide support ranging from the youth clubs to veterans like Bert Herridge, federal M.P. for Kootenay, who writes it has his un-

(article ends)

What Castro really said about Marxism-Leninism

by Robert Nelson (Bob H.)

(From Workers' Vanguard, #71, January 1962)

It is impossible to get anything resembling honest or truthful reporting about Cuba from Canada's big dailies. All you find are sensational manufactured items posing as news such as the December 20 Associated Press dispatch headed "Bloody Civil War Reported in Cuba" based on an interview with an Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo, "a top Cuban opposition leader," in Miami, hardly a source for on-the-spot information. The story was dropped as quickly as it appeared. The Associated Press subsequently reported that "other Cuban exile leaders refused to endorse a fund raising plan promoted by Gutierrez.… former pro-Castro fighter, selling 'tickets' to support his guerrilla movement."

The Canadian people were deceived on an even more blatant and cynical basis to serve the political ends of capitalism when many national dailies carried a December 2nd United Press Inter national dispatch giving the big lie treatment to Fidel Castro's speech declaring his adherence to Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This dispatch boldly asserted that "Cuban Premier Fidel Castro said today he really has been a dedicated Communist since his college days but he concealed his views so it would be easier to seize power."

This lie was further parlayed by no less a person than U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Other reports interpreted Castro's remarks to being equivalent to declaration of membership in the Communist Party although informed political persons are aware that many different and even conflicting radical tendencies declare their adherence to Marxism-Leninism — the Russian Communist Party, the Yugoslavs and the worldwide Trotskyist movement.

We are reproducing a translation of sections of Castro's speech from the December 10 issue of the Havana (journal) *Bohemia*, which not only refutes the attempts of Canada's ruling circles to dupe the people into supporting their reactionary anti-Cuban policy but warrants careful study as a major new declaration that will profoundly shape Cuban developments.

"In the first place, let me say one thing: We, with our own Revolution, are going to be pas sing through a long train of experiences. We revolutionize ourselves in the course of making our own Revolution. With our Revolution we are becoming more revolutionary each day. Was there a time when we were not revolutionists? Yes, there was a time when I, for one, was nothing of a revolutionist. Well, why? Because I was a reactionary, a crooked, thieving or corrupt politician? Nothing of the sort. There was a time when I could be considered completely illiterate in political matters, a consequence of my class origin.

"I was a political illiterate when I graduated high school, and even when I got my college degree.

"I believe that all of us have a lot to study. Am I a convinced revolutionist? Yes, I am a convinced revolutionist — that definitely. For some who have occasionally questioned me — some people have asked me whether I thought at the time of Moncada (the 1953 attack on the

Moncada Barracks in Santiago) as I think today. I have told them: ‘My thinking was very similar then to what it is today.’ This is the truth.

"By that date (the Moncada trial) our revolutionary thinking along general lines was already formed. Nevertheless we were not complete revolutionists; we were much more revolutionists when we came to power. We are convinced revolutionists….

"I consider myself more of a revolutionist today than I was on the First of January" (date of Batista's overthrow in 1959).

While he had a general appreciation of Marxist theory in his student days, he continued, it was experience in the struggle against imperialism which had made this theory the core of his political outlook. "The more conflicts we have with imperialism," he said, "the better we get to know this imperialist policy all over the world — in South Viet Nam, in the Congo, in Algeria, in Korea, in every part of the world. The more we penetrate and the more we become aware of the bloody grip of imperialism, of the miserable exploitation, of the abuse it commits in the world, of the crimes it commits against humanity, the more we become Marxists in our feelings, in our emotions, and the more we see and discover all the truths to be found in the doctrine of Marxism. The more we have to face the reality of a revolution or the class struggle, and see what the reality of the class struggle is in the theater of revolution, the deeper becomes our conviction of all the truths written by Marx and Engels and the interpretations of true genius which Lenin made of scientific socialism.

"The July 26 Movement," he continued, "represented, in the first instance, the peasants, that is, the entire peasant movement was organized around the Rebel Army; the July 26 Movement also grouped around itself many people who were also of the working class but were not members of any party, or nuclei of workers who had been members of some party of the petty bourgeoisie, honest people who also joined the July 26 Movement. The July 26 Movement also recruited professional sectors, intellectuals, youth elements, students, and also elements of the petty bourgeoisie — the most progressive and most revolutionary elements of the middle class…. One could say that it was this force that the July 26 (Movement) represented."

"Similarly," he added, "the Revolutionary Directorate represented the same sectors, more or less, but basically the student sector…. The Revolutionary Directorate sprang from the student centers and, in turn, drew in workers, intellectuals and peasants. Thus, the revolutionary forces of society were represented in three organizations."

The three principal organizations involved in the creation of the new party are the July 26th Movement, the Communist or Popular Socialist Party (PSP), and the Revolutionary Directorate.

"All the members of the various revolutionary organizations are eligible to enter the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, with equal rights and considerations," Castro declared. "Having been a member of the PSP (CP) for 20 years will bring no special privilege, nor will it be any special distinction to have been a member of the July 26 Movement or the Revolutionary Directorate. All enter with equality of rights!”

The program of the new party? "It will be a Marxist-Leninist program, adjusted to the precise objective conditions of our country. That is, in our program, we will adapt the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to our situation."

A government "based on a revolutionary party, democratically organized, and working through a collective leadership" is best, he said, because such a government "does not aspire to be eternal, but simply transitional."

This is true, he added, "if democratic norms are functioning, if the norms of collective leadership are functioning…. If democratic norms are not functioning, the system can be as terribly bad as any other system. But if the fundamental principles of internal democracy and collective leadership are maintained, then there is no doubt that this is the most perfect method of government and, above all, of government for a country in a stage of revolutionary transition."

"What does this mean?" Castro asked. "First, that this Party is not an agglomeration, but a party of selection; the best citizens of the country enter such a party…. With long years behind him in a process of apprenticeship, of direct experience…. It is not a question of a demagogue or a theatrical man. In a party where such norms prevail as discipline, principles, selection, internal democracy and collective leadership, no simpleton or idiot or adventurer can get to be head of the state…. Only those with a real political vocation, a real spirit of sacrifice, will be the ones who rise to leadership."

The Workers Vanguard #72 - Feb 1962

Across Country With the NDP

NO NUCLEAR ARMS

The biggest cheer from some 1,200 persons who gathered at the Hamilton Forum to hear NDP leader Douglas burst out when he underlined the party's pledge to keep nuclear weapons off Canadian soil, and again when he said the NDP would keep nuclear arms away from Canada's armed forces.

There was almost dead silence when NDP MLA Norman Davidson earlier in the meeting attacked the **Vanguard**, which was distributed to the audience, and stated that "I hope everybody here will do what I am going to do with it," as he tore up a copy and threw it down on the platform.

Over 1,800 students jammed the Armouries at the University of British Columbia to hear Douglas, and applauded when he spoke against nuclear arms for Canada. Two weeks previously only 88 showed up to hear national SC leader Robert Thompson.

40HR WORK WEEK

The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, which in convention last fall unanimously endorsed the NDP, is sharply critical of the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP government in its annual brief. "While not wishing to detract from the good work that has been done by the government, the federation," it reads, "must re-emphasize that we are not at all satisfied that everything possible is being done to improve the employment situation."

While allowing for the responsibility of the federal government in this area, the brief notes that the CCF-NDP government "has a very special responsibility in regard to unemployment." High on its 12 point program "which we believe the government of Saskatchewan can undertake to alleviate unemployment" is the reduction of the legal work week to 40 hours. It points to the fact that the NDP in Ontario has demanded this of the Tory government there and that the Saskatchewan CCF as far back as the 1946 convention urged its enactment "as soon as unemployment in Saskatchewan becomes a serious problem."

It also urges the government to invest more money in crown enterprises — to expand public works programs. It devotes a considerable section of its brief to housing which in Regina has reached such a deplorable state that at least 10% of the total are substandard. It challenges the government to take advantage of the federal plan, under which it is prepared to advance 75% of the cost, and to supply the 5% municipal financial requirement and proceed at once with a low cost low rental house construction program.

NATIONALIZATION

NDP leader T. C. Douglas, in an interview at Victoria, B.C., stated that if the NDP wins the next federal election it will nationalize the trans-Canada pipeline as well as other natural gas pipelines that cross provincial boundaries, will take over the Canadian Pacific Airlines and merge it with TCA, and would make it easy for provincial governments to expropriate privately-owned telephone firms which now operate under federal charter. According to the Vancouver **Sun** report he also said the NDP would nationalize the railways.

In a national broadcast he declared an NDP government would pass a national health plan administered by the provinces—60% of the cost to be met by the federal government. He denied previous press reports that he envisaged a scheme financed by a new tax but suggested that most provinces would be unable to finance their part of the plan from their own general revenues.

Saskatchewan Commonwealth columnist E. Whelan recently defended the NDP-CCF Saskatchewan government's increase in the Education and Health tax, which in our opinion played a considerable role in the Assiniboia by-election defeat, with the statement "we are not critical of the 1937 (Liberal) government in Saskatchewan for introducing the new tax."

LAUNCH ALTA. NDP

Almost 400 delegates registered for the founding convention of the Alberta NDP held in Edmonton last month. It was preceeded by a mass rally addressed by T. C. Douglas attended by over 1,600 people.

There were 172 delegates representing unions, 98 NDP clubs, 85 CCF, 19 youth groups and 10, the provincial committee of the NDP. The Alberta section of the CCF while generally more left was always one of the weaker sections. Provincial organizer Grant Notley reported that there were presently 2,500 in the CCF and NDP clubs and approximately 4,000 affiliated members. It was decided to hold a special convention this fall to choose a provincial leader. By that time it is anticipated that Alberta will have at least 5,000 individual members. President by acclamation is Neil Reimer, a vice president of the CLC and Canadian director of the Oil and Chemical Workers Union.

ONT. BY-ELECTIONS

Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald's comments on the five by-election results remind one of the letter Dr. J. M. Thomas wrote to the editors of BC **CCF News** last summer protesting their comments on the Esquimalt - Saanich by - election results.

MacDonald's tally compares the 1959 vote in the five ridings with last month's vote. Of course we didn't win a seat, even lost votes in Eglinton (Toronto) and the Liberals made a strong comeback, but looking at things his way there is no need to show concern, to anlyze cause, and suggest correction.

To further this attitude Macdonald doesn't even present a correct tally—the 12.6% of the vote we got in 1959 was on the basis of contesting only four of the ridings. This time we contested five so that the accurate percentage of the vote that was cast NDP is not even MacDonald's 17.1 but 15.8. The **Commonwealth** worked wonders with these figures. After commenting on the Liberal gains it reported "But it was the New Party that made a really surprising gain for its popular vote was 35% higher than the CCF vote in the same

→ p. 2

constituencies in 1959."

Dr. Thomas revealed that far from the glowing picture painted by the BC leadership, the Liberals, after running a poor third since 1945, came within a few hundred of winning and pulled ahead of the NDP. "Relative to size and resources of the campaign we took a beating. I can see no good in deceiving our supporters by a political picture that so distorts the facts," he said.

It is good to see that MacDonald doesn't pass off the defeat, doesn't attribute it to the Communist Party ads in the daily press and a CP leaflet urging support of the NDP, as has been going the rounds in the movement. But unfortunately Erhart Regier, NDP-OCF Burnaby-Coquitlam, did in the House on Jan. 25. Regier charged the Liberal Party with drawing up the leaflet and conducting an "almost complete house to house telephone canvass", urging support for the NDP in the name of the CP. "I deliberately charge the Liberal machine of the City of Toronto with conducting this campaign and pretending it was the Communist Party . . ." he said.

NDP candidate Martin denied that such a pamphlet was distributed or that such phone calls were made in Eglinton. NDP candidate Bullock confirmed the phone calls and pamphlets in Beaches but said there was nothing to indicate the Liberals were involved in any way. Perhaps we really should discuss the contention that it was lack of program that led to the defeat.

NEED A NEW ONE

It was refreshing to hear NDP leader and secretary of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor Walter Smishek's attack on the "system", in his handling of the new Chamber of Commerce campaign against public ownership. Smishek does a job on the latest double-talk for capitalism—now called "competitive enterprise" and which **Life's** new US presidential candidate, auto tycoon Romney, is calling "consumerism."

"Our system," says Smishek, "is not free, nor competitive. It's simply profit motivated. It has no concern for your or my freedom. It's concern is to preserve the freedom to exploit. This system has been responsible for all our unemployment, farm insecurity, inadequate education, lack of proper health services, inadequate old age pension."

MONEY PROBLEMS

Douglas Fisher, who announced a couple of years ago that he would not seek re-nomination, has accepted the NDP nomination for Port Arthur.

He presented the following ultimatum to the NDP convention: that he move his family out of the riding to Ottawa which is relatively close, being only several hundred miles away, that the riding association provide a means for his keeping in contact with the constituency, and that it agree to his accepting a position as a columnist for the Tory Toronto **Telegram**. He did not reveal what this would pay but stated that he could not live comfortably on the annual $10,000 stipend paid MP's.

Speaking of income, Ontario provincial leader MacDonald gets as an MPP $5,000 a year plus a tax-free expense allowance of $2,000. On top of that he receives another $6,000 from the party treasury as provincial leader. He has been returning $2,000 of this as his sustaining contribution but that still leaves him $11,000 a year, or over $200 a week.

Small wonder that the leadership thinks Canada is an affluent society, that they are divorced from the ordinary working man and woman and consider that the major question before the electorate is the question of morality.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

81 QUEEN ST. W., TORONTO

The Workers Vanguard #72 - Feb 1962

Meetings Honor Natalia Trotsky

Mourners from all parts of the world gathered at a funeral service for Natalia Trotsky in Paris Jan. 29. The services, attended by some 800 people, were held at Père Lachaise cemetery where martyrs of the Paris Commune are buried. Her ashes were placed there temporarily and will later be sent to Mexico for burial along side those of her husband, Leon Trotsky, in the garden of their home in Coyoacan.

Speakers at the funeral included many notables representing a broad spectrum of the international radical movement, including militant Communists, Socialists, Trotskyists and Anarchists.

Speakers included Professor Laurent Schwartz of the Sorbone; British historian Isaac Deutcher; Pierre Naville, leader of the French Unified Socialist Party; the famous French writer and artist, Andre Breton and Marguerite Bonnet, speaking for the veteran French socialist, Alfred Rosmer.

Joseph Hansen, editor of **The Militant**, spoke for the Socialist Workers Party. Livio Maitan of Italy and Pierre Frank of France spoke for Trotskyist groups in those countries.

The Socialist Labor League of Great Britain was represented by its national secretary Gerry Healy.

In his address to a memorial meeting held in New York George Lavan, manager of the **Militant**, said; "In saying farewell to Natalia, we are saying farewell to our last personal friend and collaborator among those who made the October Revolution. We are, moreover, saying farewell to the Russian Left Opposition—those who remained true to the Revolution they had made . . . it is our farewell to the whole generation of Bolsheviks."

"Every generation must pass," he concluded, "but Natalia and those of her generation who remained true to their original course, have left an invaluable heritage, not only for us, not only for the socialist movement, but a heritage for all humanity."

Cuban Ambassador Speaks at Banquet

By Robert Nelson

The vitality and optimism of the liberated spirit of the Cuban people colored the short address by Cuba's ambassador to Canada, Dr. America Cruz, to a banquet held on January 27 celebrating the birth of the Cuban revolutionary democrat Jose Marti. The banquet was sponsored by the Toronto chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Visibly moved when they heard of the past sufferings of the Cuban people, of the attacks against them from an avaricious aggressor, the audience of 200 brightened as the epic of the new Cuba was glimpsed through the words of Dr. Cruz. He asked the audience: "Why is it that the mighty United States government spends more time and energy harassing tiny Cuba than it does the Soviet Union, even including China? It's not at all because Cuba is intervening in the affairs of other American countries, as Mr. Rusk is making out at Punta del Esta, but because Cuba has become a symbol to peoples throughout Latin America and elsewhere that they can do something truly great and inspiring against the poverty and disease they have so long suffered."

The featured banquet speaker was Ed Shaw of Detroit, Mid-West organizer of the American Fair Play Committee. The ambassador and Shaw were introduced to the assembled guests by Vernel Olson, national chairman of the Canadian committee. Shaw spoke on the trip he had just made to Cuba in defiance of the US State Department travel ban, and the struggle of the American FPCC to bring the truth about the achievements and aims of the Cuban revolution to the American people.

Following the banquet, tastefully prepared by members and friends of the committee, the room was cleared for exhilarating dancing to Latin American rhythms. People of many different backgrounds and opinions were present, united by the spirit of solidarity with the Cuban people's struggles.

Over 100 attended the Jose Marti banquet held a week later by the Montreal chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Chaired by Bernard Mergler the banquet was addressed in Spanish by the Cuban ambassador, Dr. Rogelin Guilot, Cuban consul general, Amando Quevada, Cuban commercial attache, in French by Marcel Gelinas and in English by Steve Bless.

81 Queen St W, Toronto
March 5, 1962

Vancouver 1

Dear Ruth

Sorry to be so long in taking up your two letters. But here is the letter that you want to receive---enclosing the information on the political committees decision on who--Ernie or Alan--is to go out to Vancouver. We met last night and decided that

Ernie is to go. The decision was uanimous. What made it so--what settled the matter-was your involvement. Had the matter were to be decided on the relative merits of Ernie and Alan and our understanding of the Vancouver situation and the ~~impact~~ needs of Toronto it would have been a very difficult decision to make.

Thanks for your honest, your candid comments on Ernie. Naturally I have not shown these comments to anyone--other than to Alan--who is a personal friend of Ernie's and will say nothing of it . Yes, in many ways Alan would be better able to meet the problems in Vancouver---Ernie tneds to become overwhlemed in the problemx of making tactical approaches ~~in~~, tends to get diverted from implementing the basic line. Hence he has what appears to be a certain political softness. But Ernie is also a revolutionary who is quite familiarbwith our theory and so what happens --As I have witnessed it--is that when he gets into a situation that this tnedency of his takes him and comes to a realization of the trend towards vilation of our principles--he rears back --pulls away. Ernie has considerable pride in himself--a good thing for itx projects him forward, but sometimes it interferes in his making an honest appecuation of a situ aton and his role in it, and inhibits him from taking tactical ajustments. The comradeship of the movement is very important to Ernie. He is a leader who enjoys being part of a team of comrades. But he is very sensitive, overly snesitive to criticism. But for the recent experience of the school and your being there I am not too sure how he would make out in the rought and tumble Vancouver atmosphere. Ernie doesn't know how to take criticism-- even from those whom he considers hus personal friends---of course not many of us do know how. He cannot bear candidacy when it concerns himself. If the school di nothing else it may well have helped to correct this problem of Ernie's. In fact I told him this--that I hope that when he gave reports etc that there was searching and honest criticism from the rest of the students--pad from a few conversations with Kerry I think that there will be lots from that source.

The Vancouver situation demands mature leadership, leadership which is politically developed, experienced, that is systematic, that is patient, that knows how to overlook all kinds of things in the confidence that it knows where it is going. Alan is more systematic in the work of the party, he gets to the point quicker than Ernie but he is a man of so few words that he has difficulty in convincing others of his views and plotting out a course of action to achieve his point. While Ernie is one of our few real connections with the NDP here and is a serious loss from this point alone, Alan is our key Teamster where there is not much doing right now but where we have done some dolid work which we can ill-afford to jeopardize

I think that you can be of enormous help to Ernie, in rounding him out to being what he really wants to be. Dont let him overwhelm you with his affaction--he does that you know. Help him to regularize himself m, to discipline himself--and beware he is prickly As I mentioned your involvement was perhpas the decisive factor. From all that we have heard you are they key comrade in the youth work. This is the most promising field of activity we have and it was felt that your withdrawal from it in the Vancouver area would result in a serious set-back. We gathered you would be going back to school there next fall so it would seem somewhat foolish to bring a rupture into this work

Now as for Ernie coming out right after the school. I hesitate to answer this at this time. This tour can be the most important yet. I do not know at this time

who will be available for it. I think that Nick is solid. Ken committed himself but I have heard some small talk that makes me wonder if the commitment will be honored. And we need some solid and politically developed comrade along . We will have no twouble getting four but we may have in getting the solid and politically mature comrade. We will work on this and let you know as soon as possible, This tour with Nick and Ken just back from Cuba and Latin America would be able to rally a fair sized meeting at almost any point we would like. Then there is the probable election.

I gather from your Feb 16 note that Ernie must have passed on my irritation with a letter that he sent to Alan and which Alan showed me--which is written entirely on the assumption that ET is all but there,in Vancouver. This is really so much wwater water under the bridge. But Ruth has no basis whatsoever for acting on the assupmtion that Ernie was coming out. I dont want to bother looking back in correspondence but I am quite sure that when the request was made that someone come out--it was Alan's name that was mentioned, not Ernie's. I thereupon asked Ernie waht he thought of his going out and what he knew of your plans. Ernie takes Alan for granted---he wrote me an apologetic note after a long silence that Alan gave him to believe that should he ET want to go Alan was agreeable---as if we were not there,so to speak.

But this is so much water under the bridge and I would appreciate it if you would destroy this letter with the comments about Ernie in it--not that I would not stand by it but no purpose is served by having it available tfmxmx and I would just as soon kkxk it having been said that it is xxxxxxxx merely noted for what it is worth, not xxxx in itself used in anyway.

Yes, the Vanguard certainly will mention the YSF--in the next issue. Hope you hav us on the exchange list

I am a little uneasy about a few comments in your letter of 22 Feb----this talk about an association of BC socialists---changing the name,etc. I noted in a report of the conference some comments about a bad use of the xxxxxxxxword party in referring to the LSA. Yes, this is dangerous security wise and from the point of sensitively carrying aut our orientation. We are a League and part of the NDP. But noetheless the LSA is the Trotskyist movement here in Canada. not somekind of braod even centrist left. We would be interested in promoting such a left, encouraging others if there is a solid baissis for such a formatiinn--if there are leftists who are available who are not capable of coming closer to us at this time. Such a formation would provide us with a much braoder field of work and help us to really build the LSA. In the meatime its absence here in Ontario for instance trhusts left inclined workers closer to us with our developed program, the LSA. It would be a big error if any decisions were to be made in this area without a full and rounded discussion throughout the party. I brought this question up to the PC last night and we decided to do nothing as this time as our inofmation is very sketchy and Reg has promised us a full report. If the comrades are moving to any concrete action in this direction I hope that you will upon my expres sion of doubts in a letter which I do not want you to use hold them back until the party gets into the picutre. Vancouver as perhaps you know has a tendency to make decisions before discussion, to present us with fait accompli

No I didn't "want to test these young people---to test thexr utter loyalty" by doubting that Ernie should be the one to go to Vancouver, as Ruth B wrote. The decision has been made--on a correct political basis--with due account of the personal factors and so we have complete "confidence that Ernie can do the job" out there with you and the rest of the comrades. We will help in anyway we can

fraternally

Ross

WE THE PEOPLE MUST VOTE, DECIDE, ON WHETHER CANADA NUCLEAR ARMS:

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 7 (No. 1) (73) Mid-March, 1962 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Urges Rabbi Feinberg B.C. Union Takes Poll

"I propose that a referendum be conducted in Canada on the question of nuclear arms"—Rabbi Feinberg. In his keynote address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards on February 26, Rabbi Feinberg said "Perhaps a count ought to be explored, not only to guide the government and candidates for office, but as a valuable exercise in the technique of evaluating mass psychology. Therefore I propose that a referendum be conducted in Canada on the question of nuclear arms. A secret ballot would reveal profound and widespead revulsion from any policy involving Canada in the madness of nuclear arms competition that daily heightens the risk of nuclear suicide."

"Here in Powell River (BC) members voted 75% in favor of keeping nuclear arms out of Canada," writes W. Matticks, executive member of the Western Canadian Council of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union (CLC) in the February issue of the **Western Pulp and Paper Worker.** Initiated by the Ocean Falls local, with the concurrence of the Prince Rupert local, a referendum is being conducted throughout the union by the council.

(See Page 3—SUPPORT FOR)

NDP OPPOSES U.S. TESTING

The New Democratic Party federal executive has condemned U.S. President Kennedy's announcement of resumption of tests as "a bitter blow." Referring to last year's Soviet testing, which it strongly condemned, the NDP leadership said that it "may explain the American decision but it makes it no less regrettable." The statement condemned Kennedy's demand for an iron clad test ban agreement as ensuring "that the new disarmament conference will open under a shadow."

NO NUCLEAR ARMS DECLARES LABOR

The Canadian Labor Congress has urged the Diefenbaker government to renounce nuclear arms. Representing almost 1 1/5 million unionists it added its voice to that of the 110,000 strong French Canadian Confederation of National Trade Unions whose annual brief to the government also urged the government to dissociate itself from the manufacture and use and stock piling of nuclear weapons—"these infernal machines."

The CLC brief expressed "the fear that with Canadian armed forces already in possession of weapon carriers with nuclear capability the time is not far off when atomic warheads will be in the hands of Canadian armed forces and on Canadian territory."

Sask. Govt. Sets Health Plan Date Medical & Boss Cabal Sabotage

By ROSS DOWSON

Early this month Saskatchewan's Health Minister W. G. Davies announced that North America's first socialized medical plan will go into operation on July 1, 1962. But it is by no means clear that, despite this two years' delay since the NDP-CCF received a decisive mandate to proceed, the plan will go into effect even then. That is unless the government moves in to decisively curtail the authority of the medical hierarchy organized in the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons, buttressed in its heartless sabotage and arrogant defiance of the law by the Canadian Medical Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the profit-gorged insurance corporations, and prominent mouthpieces of the Big Business political machines.

The officials of the Saskatchewan College have persisted in their refusal to negotiate with the government, to co-operate in any way to allow it to carry out its mandate. They have instructed their members to defy the law. To this day the officers of the college have refused to meet with the government-appointed Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Commission, despite government assurances that it is prepared to discuss all aspects of the act; "to consider specific changes if it can be demonstrated that they are required to protect the medical professions' legitimate interests." Responsible for this 15½ million dollar government project, the commission has now sent personal letters to the province's 900 doctors suggesting that they meet with it individually or in groups.

As one would expect since it won a decisive mandate for the plan in an election in which all the forces of capital ganged-up to make it the key issue, the CCF-NDP government has the support of all the major provincial civic, social, and welfare bodies. Last November the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, through its president F. W. McClelland, urged the government not to allow the medical hierarchy to place itself outside the law. While not fully in agreement with certain aspects of the act which the government has modified in the hope of appeasing the opposition, the federation declared its support of the act "in the interest of getting a medical insurance program started." The Saskatchewan Farmers Union, the Saskatchewan Branch of the Canadian Public Health Association, the Saskatchewan Urban Municipalities Association, etc., have all declared their support.

The membership of Regina Locals 539 and 454 Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union (CLC) in a letter to Premier W. S. Lloyd stated that they "felt that the government had gone as far as it possibly could go in seeking the cooperation of the College" and suggested that if the college spokesmen refuse the invitation and simply continue their attacks "the government should feel absolutely free to ignore the college as such and proceed to get the plan underway without delay." The locals' letter to chairman of the college, Dr. H. D. Dalgliesh, asks him to remind his colleagues that it was the citizens of Saskatchewan who built the university where doctors train and the hospitals where doctors earn their rather substantial living.

While the Saskatchewan hierarchy is defying the law its powerful allies have moved in to bolster it by mounting a national campaign against the removal of the dollar signs around health. One of their main sounding boards are the hearings being conducted by the federal government-appointed Royal Commission on Health Services. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, voicing alarm over the popular support for, (what it calls the vote-catching potential of) socialized medicine, made its pitch that such plans damage the freedom of Canadians and based its case on the myth that most Canadians are capable of paying for the benefits of existing medical services. Those not able, it suggested, can go on federal charity.

Two of the groups that have appeared before the committee to vigorously oppose a tax supported national health plan nonetheless put in their bid for massive subsidies from the national treasury. Echoing the CMA, the 5,890 member Canadian Association of Medical Students and Interns at the same time asked for a 5 million dollar fund to help undergraduates by providing interest free loans. The Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society, simultaneous with its opposition to a national health plan, urged acceptance of a plan to aid sufferers of rheumatic diseases that would cost the government 2⅓ million dollars by 1970.

(See Page 2—FIGHT SASK.)

RAISE SIGHTS IN FUND DRIVE

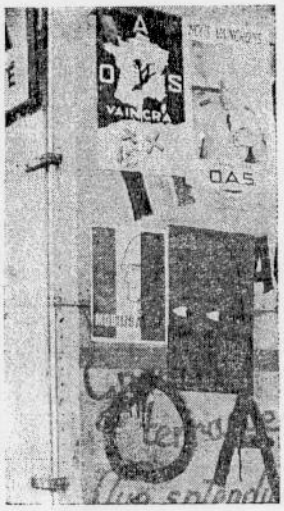
If you have enjoyed the **Vanguard**, found it valuable to clinch points of argument on the job or an evening discussion at home, found it useful for leads in your trade union and New Democratic Party work you will no doubt feel as we do that its continued publication should not depend on the chance condition of your pocket book, the spare time that some one of us can put aside to call around and pick up a donation. But it does. The **Vanguard** depends on you, its readers to see it off the press through the year.

We have launched our annual spring drive this year on March 15 to come to a close two months later on May 15. But this year we have set ourselves the highest objective yet—$2,500.

We have raised our sights because in the past year we assumed the obligation of attempting to meet new opportunities to increase our influence by putting out 6 pages editions on 4 or 5 occasions. This coming year, with the federal election before us, the Latin American revolution advancing increasingly to the fore, the stimulating developments in Cuba, the trade union movement entering into more difficult times, we intend not only to put out special inserts more often but to lay the ground work for even more extensive expansion of our press.

The drive has got well underway. Vancouver, which set itself an objective of $750, had $125 of it here in the office on opening day. Toronto has turned over $103.40 and has an additional $1,409 pledged by friends of the **Vanguard**. Twenty dollars has come in from Montreal.

So far so good. The rest is going to come tougher but the response to date tells us that the money is there in your pocket or your next pay envelope. Send in your contribution just as soon as possible to **The Workers Vanguard, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.** The bigger the better, but no sum is too small. We think that you owe it to us and to yourself for the **Vanguard** is the promise of our future.



Premier DeGaulle, now taking belated action against Raoul Sagan's (above) OAS, has utilized its extremist position to win from the rebel FLN leadership concessions that leave French imperialism with considerable control over Algeria. DeGaulle is now utilizing the cease fire to strengthen his Bonapartist rule in France.

Fair Play Challenges — Increase Cuban Trade!

Vernel Olson, national chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has challenged the daily press, if they are really convinced that the Cuban people are suffering as serious a food shortage as they are reporting, "to initiate a campaign to have part of the Canadian food surpluses diverted to the alevlation of the suffering. Such a campaign," he suggests, "would be far more constructive than columns of diatribe against the Cuban government and cynical reporting of Cuba's problems."

He also challenged Toronto Star reporter Roy Shields and Toronto Telegram reporter Douglas Robbins, who have been grinding out hate-Cuba material day after day, to a public debate.

Olson, who has been in Cuba twice in the past year, states that one of the greatest achievements of the Cuban revolution has been in the field of agriculture. Production of beans for instance, he says, increased tenfold from 1958 to 1961. "The fact that food shortages have developed despite gains in agricultural output is not surprising when you realize that close to 80% of Cuba's food needs prior to the revolution were imported from the U.S."—even prior to the U.S. blockade with which "U.S. interests hope to bring the Cuban economy and the revolutionary regime crashing down," Mr. Olson states—"the vicious cutting of the sugar quota deprived Cuba of dollars for the purchase of large quantities of food from dollar countries."

"Is the hysteria now being whipped up in the press," he asks, "designed to bring Ottawa into line with the U.S. embargo—to force the Diefenbaker government to close off the trade in agricultural products which Canada is now conducting with Cuba, and which has been such a boon to Canada's lagging agricultural export trade?"

Through its national bulletin Fair Play is appealing to all groups and organizations to pass resolutions to be forwarded to Ottawa expressing their desire that Canada continue to trade with Cuba and extend such trade by granting long term loans and credits to the Cuban government. As information the bulletin presents a round-up of varied Canadian opinion on Cuba trade

(See Page 4—FAIR PLAY)

The Workers Vanguard #73 - Mar. 1962

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(See Page 4—FAIR PLAY)

FAIR PLAY

(Continued from Page 1)

Among them comments by columnist Cliff MacKay in the Vancouver **Sun** — "We'll continue to do business with Cuba despite pressure from Washington for an all-out embargo. We'll not yield. This is a question of principle. Washington's request — — — amounts to foreign intervention in our domestic affairs. It is not to be tolerated." A resolution passed by the Montreal Labor Council representing 160,000 unionists supporting continued Canadian trade. A letter from Local 444 AUW, on strike in Windsor, to Diefenbaker condemning Liberal leader Paul Martin for seeking to halt automotive engines and vehicles which Windsor unemployed could be working on, and expressing hope that the government will not reverse its stand under U.S. or Liberal Party pressure.

The Workers' Vanguard #73 - Mar 1962

Across Country With the NDP

TO DEFEAT ARGUE

The Assiniboia nomination meeting, the largest ever held in this Saskatchewan constituency, was a tremendous demonstration of contempt for renegade CCF-NDP parliamentary leader Hazen Argue, who has refused to resign from the seat even though he has crossed over to the Liberals, and a powerful vote of confidence that the seat will be retained by the NDP in the coming federal election.

There were 417 voting delegates and 50 visitors. A meeting addressed by T. C. Douglas in the evening, after a full day session, was attended by over 700 who packed the standing room to capacity. Over $3,200 was put in the collection plates and another $1,200 paid in membership fees.

High school teacher Cecil Bailey won the nomination over two other nominees on the third ballot. Bailey has been a member of the CCF since 1934 and at present is president of the Weyburn provincial constituency. Les Benjamin, provincial NDP secretary, told the convention that more memberships had been sold in January and February this year than ever before in these two months. There has not been a single resignation from the party, he said, following Argue's defection.

RANKS WIN OUT

The witch hunters on the provincial executive of the NDP in British Columbia were forced to reverse themselves recently. Jerry LeBourdais, popular president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1608 had been designated, with the agreement and consent of the far-flung NDP units of the Coast-Capilano constituency, as Federal Coordinator. The provincial executive were duly notified. But on February 28 provincial secretary Jessie Mendels informed the North Vancouver constituency that it had no co-ordinator and that it may not proceed with nominations for a candidate.

A short time later one of their appointees who had been sent into the field was smelled out in Powell River where he had been burrowing under stones looking for a prospect. The members there blew their corks and cut his tail off.

The North Vancouver constituency didn't sit nursing its wounds but immediately circulated a protest to all executive and provincial council members pointing out that the constituency association is properly constituted —and "the fact that certain members have been named for charges as yet not received and some clubs have not been granted charters has no bearing whatsoever." They charged that "this extension of the punitive attitude by the provincial executive with respect to this constituency does nothing but hinder our efforts towards winning this riding for the NDP."

When the storm subsided LeBourdais was fulsomely endorsed by the table officers and informed that he would be given every aid by the provincial office in discharging his duties. Round one to the rank and file.

EXPULSIONS OFF

Since mid-December, 1961, the names of various well-known socialist members of the NDP in British Columbia have been bandied around the province with the threat that these socialists were about to have their membership rights removed by the right wing. To obtain evidence for action the right wing set up a special investigating committee to examine the affairs of the North Vancouver Constituency. This committee whose chairman was Frank Snowsell, presented its findings January 21st, 1962. The report of the committee was allegedly of such a nature that the provincial executive committee is said to have ordered it destroyed although the minute record says the report was "received." Out of this same investigating committee, at the same January 21st meeting of the executive, charges were laid by the executive against Ruth Bullock, Reg Bullock, R. E. (Lefty) Morgan, and Malcolm Bruce. A trial committee consisting of three members from the body laying the charges was set up. The minutes of the executive meeting were circularized throughout the province.

The executive did not have the courtesy to inform its intended victims of the action to be taken against them until March 3rd when a registered letter was received asking them to appear on March 11th for trial on a charge that they "have been disloyal to our party by joining with members of another organization in furthering the policies of **Vanguard**, which policies are inimical to those of the New Democratic Party." This was followed by a letter March 8th cancelling the trial for the 11th. It is reported that the following Saturday, March 17th, on the advice of the lawyer member, John Macey, who had been asked to conduct the prosecution, the provincial executive by a majority vote withdrew the charges.

Socialists would like to feel that this sensible action was motivated by reason and a feeling for the right of democratic expression. Certainly the attacks on **Press** and **Vanguard** have shown socialists in the New Democratic Party in B.C. the need to band together for the protection of their elementary right to express and disseminate their ideas.

TWO VIEWPOINTS

Reflecting a certain vitality among the youth who have been attracted to the NDP, and perhaps an element of disatisfaction with official publications, is the **Georgian Radical**, published by the NDP at Sir George William College in Montreal, and the **Young Socialist Forum** published by youth members of the B.C. NDP constituted as the Young Socialist Forum. The aims and purposes of the Forum have been endorsed by the B.C. NDP Youth Provincial Council.

The two publications are at opposite poles in outlook. The **Forum** characterizes itself as a journal of socialist opinion. In the first issue the editors express their anticipation that all America will go socialist, their confidence that the NDP will in time come forward clearly and strongly for a thoroughgoing socialist program.

The **Georgian Radical** in its second issue, on the other hand, contains a report in which the president goes to considerable pains to prove that the NDP is not what its "opponents want it to be—socialist." Aside from the enemies of the NDP, who label it socialist as a smear, what about its friends, those members of the NDP who think it should go socialist? The writer has his own opinion of what the socialist viewpoint is and musters the aid of Socialist Labor Party leader Eric Haas to buttress it. Of course the NDP is not now socialist but anyone concerned with the dynamics of a movement, its flow and its direction could not pick out a less qualified authority on this continent than Eric Haas. Haas deals only in fixed categories. His Marxism, deprived of all revolutionary content, is not a guide to action but a dogma.

For Haas the NDP is a third capitalist party , a fixed, finished category, but not for the youth associated with the **Forum**. For them it is a party with a working class base arising in a period of developing capitalist crisis, something fluid, dynamic, with a future. This contradiction in attitudes is reflected in the pages of the two journals. **The Georgian Radical** is dry, orthodox, heavy with words of Michael Oliver, Professor Andre Phillip, lifts from other, mostly capitalist, papers. The **Forum** is alive and while its overall impression is somewhat scholastic as it has not yet made connections with the real movement of the student and working class youth, it is argumentative, stimulating. **The Georgian Radical** is not for sale or reproduction without permission. The Forum seeks your subscription and participation. It is $2 a year from Phil Courneyeur — 7187-10th Ave., New Westminster.

April 9, 1962

Ruth Tate

Dear Ruth

Sorry to see that Ruth B has pulled off that old trick on you---pullease pullease interced on behald of poor old us with those insens tive unresponsive N.O. people. Use your little ol connections in the interests of the party. Quite a commentary on us isn't it. That terrible ol N.O. down there is Toronto doesn't recognize us hardened Bolshevik fighters out here ~~but~~-we marshalled the whole branch against them on Febraury 23 and no results --but they are suckers for the old personal connections---you are an ex Torontonian--he has been writing you a couple of letters--wonder what's in them. Let's recognize it down there in Toronto they are not really Bolsheviks at all, they dont recognize the elected leaders here in Vancouver but we will have to put up with them until something better turns up.

Here is your second paragraph "This is certainly a sorry situation, and I cannot feel that she is altogehter unjustified in feeling that her assuahraces will not be accepted, or in worrying that months may elapse before action is taken on here suggestions. ....slowness of the center in dealing with certain Vancouver matters..."

Today I got a letter from Dave McGarvie--an inspired letter-the same angle--telling me all about Charlie and about Harold--with the closing comment "This situation is not only intolerable, it is in my opinion quite destrcutive, especially for the comrades in the NDP." I wrote him and told him why ~~xxxx~~ doesn't the branch do something about it---it has all the authroity, why doesn't it haul Harold and Charlie up on the mat and if they dont sharpen up toss them out

I am sure he is going to be suprised by this reply because I am sure that he thinks that the N.O. is dragging its feet on any actions with regards to the former Branch one membership--is collaborating with them--is probably really a hundred per cent or at least 50 percent in support of them..

But there is no truth in such a belief and Ruth no truth in any concept that you may have that there have been any months elapsing before action on her suggestions

For instance the PC minutes of February 11 say "Motion that the PC concurs with the action taken with regards to the three applications so far rejected by Vancouver--carried."....."it was the general consensus of the meeting that these applications from former members of the now dissolved Branch one should be processed with despatch." That's Feb 11. What is the N.O. holding up on --we are asking them to move on---and we havent heard yet about anyone else then these three--and the two accepted.

What suggestions of Ruth B's are you referring to. I dont know.

XXXX

Harold and that we are responsibly for all the troubles being had from Harold.

Harold of course is a fool. If Bill was serious about proving to the party the error of its ways he would have Harold giving liberally conducting himself in an exemplary fashion. But all Harold is doing is convincing anyone who might have had doubts that the actions against the other three were justified.

Now there really are some unresolved problems wiating to be taken up between the center and Vancouver. To this day we have heard nothing about this discussion on the LSA which you mentioned was looming. In your letter you write "You said to try to slow down the LSAdiscussion and any decisions. Sure I'm delighted to do that if I have to but how slow can you get. In our position in the NDP we need to make a fairly prompt decision on this matter." To this day we know nothing about this whole problemwhat is involved other than what you metioned in one letter. We raised it in the PC minutes and have heard nothing yet. We have also raised the whole matter of fair play. No word at all. I was disappointed to receive the leaflet on Ken O's speech and see that it announced his meeting as taking place in 875 and though it showed no auspices--obviously not under the auspices of Fiar Play. I dont know--but it seemed a natural to take another shot at sustaining the Vancouver chapter.

Oh well.

I am taking up some of your comments not from the point of view of trying to throw you into the battle but in an attempt to assure you so that in some way where possible you may be able to assure some of the others that all is not lost with us here in the center.

And when wibl Ernie be out. Well we have not been able to decide this matter yet. I really think Ernie should go on the tour but I know all the problems this way. I am hoping that we can make arrangments so that we will not need him but things do not look any too good this way. I was hoping to get to know Nick but he has only now arrived I am not sure that he is mature enough, serious enough, developed enough to take responsibility for a tour. I know Ken O is not. Bob wants to go but this is a bad trio without someone experienced and strong. Pat is working Cliff wants to be left our of this one. So you see there are problems ----which while I appreciate it would be nice to be solved by now do not actually have to be until after Ernie comes out of the school.

Received the YSF this morning--but havent had a chance to go over it. Nick arrived on Saturday.

fraternally

Ross

robably be best kxxk if you have told Ruth B that you have written me that you only received a short note in reply to the effect that if you think it advisable why not move against Harold. "ork something out. And then tear this up and throw it away. I have no intention of carrying on a political correspondence with anyone other than the nc members an

JOIN IN THE STRUGGLE TO ELECT AN NDP GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 18

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 7 (No. 2) (74) Mid-April, 1962 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Halt Nuclear Arms Drive For Jobs For Everyone

(By THE EDITORS)

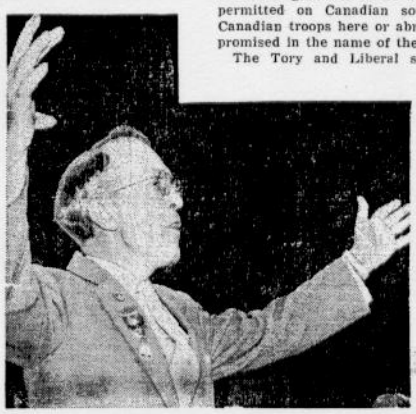
As the federal election campaign moved into high gear U.S. President Kennedy gave the go-ahead for the bursting of a hydrogen bomb which scientists predict will break the earth's magnetic arc and perforate the upper atmosphere showering the peoples across the globe with death dealing fallout. This awesome blast which will throw an arc of light visible some 4,000 miles, casts into sharp relief NDP federal leader T. C. Douglas' challenge that the great issue of the election is atomic arms.

A tremendous burst of applause swept through the 1,500 persons gathered in the Trianon Ballroom to unanimously nominate Douglas for the Regina seat as he declared that no nuclear weapons would be permitted on Canadian soil by an NDP government. Nor would Canadian troops here or abroad be armed with nuclear equipment, he promised in the name of the party.

The Tory and Liberal spokesmen of "that small clique" which Douglas charges "owns and controls the wealth of the nation," with the aid of the big dailies, TV, and radio, are trying to bury this life and death question in a torrent of other "issues." While squandering 1.5 billion dollars each year that they have been in office, on defence which is no defence, against an enemy which doesn't threaten our security, the Tory Diefenbaker government has stopped short of making the final decision to nuclear equip Canadian forces. The Bomarc missiles pointing skyward at North Bay and La Macaza and the planes and equipment that Canadian forces are training with only wait the word for the clamping of atomic warheads into position.

Should the Diefenbaker government be re-elected to office it is certain that Canada will be nuclear armed. As parliament

(See p. 3—ELECT AN NDP)



New Democratic Party leader T. C. Douglas as he made his acceptance speech to last year's founding convention in Ottawa. Delegates representing all the major unions, the CCF and New Party clubs launched Canada's labor party with high anticipation of winning this election.

Whip Out Red Bogey to Hide Real Issues

By PAUL MACPHERSON

Everything appears to be shaping up for an orgy of red baiting as we roll along to the June 18th federal election date.

The Tories are already busy red-baiting Liberal leader Lester B. Pearson. One Tory member of the House of Commons suggested Pearson got his Nobel Peace Prize because he was soft on Communists. Eldon M. Woollians (PC Bow River) depicted the Liberal leaders as "a cesspool of civil servants with Red friends."

The Liberals not to be outdone by the Tories have been busy Cuba-baiting the Diefenbaker government. The little bit of trade it allows with Cuba is their excuse. Meanwhile in the Manitoba legislature Liberal member Larry Desjardins shouted out at NDP members: "Why not move to Russia if you don't like what has been done here?"

Not to be outdone by others NDP leader Tommy Douglas at the Vancouver CLC convention accused the Chamber of Commerce of behaving like reds in running its "Operation Freedom" campaign! Everybody's getting into the act.

They are all running before red-baiting and trying to prove their respectability by counter baiting or protestations of loyalty. Thus CLC president Jodoin: "no one has fought communism harder than the labor movement."

This orgy of red-baiting caused NDP MP Douglas Fisher to write a special column on the question of the Communist Party in the Toronto Telegram. Fisher, in defending the NDP from red-baiting, makes two effective main points.

Point one—If the NDP is Communist how come the Communist Party is running so many candidates this election, concentrated in ridings where the NDP has its best chance of getting elected, as it has done in other elections? A good question!

Point two—After quoting facts and figures on the CP Fisher concludes: "Neither in numbers nor in organization is the Communist Party other than a smidgin factor in Canadian politics. Yet they get so much attention from all, such concern from the New Democrats!"

What Fisher points out is obviously correct. Why then all this red baiting against the NDP? NDP leader Douglas gave the answer at the Vancouver CLC convention. He accused the Chamber of Commerce of attempting to set up a Communist bogey as camouflage for the campaign against the NDP and the welfare state.

This is exactly what big business did in the past against the CCF. It is what they are doing now against the NDP. It is what

One would think that within the NDP, which contains many former CCFers who were red-baited for a good many years, red-baiting would be recognized for what it is—an attempt to split up the party, to weaken it, and destroy it if possible. One would also think that these ex-CCFers would recognize that any concessions to red baiting only prove the charges to those who tend to fall for this propaganda in the first place.

The US experience amply demonstrates that no one has ever proven he is not a "red". It's impossible to do because the people who are doing the red baiting are not interested in ideas or ideology. They are interested only in smearing an opponent, in frightening other people into conforming, with their hysterical smear campaign.

This for instance is the way the right wing NDP leadership approaches Trotskyism. It was against such McCarthyism that the famous scientist Albert Einstein urged people to refuse to answer all questions as to their political beliefs by standing on the 5th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

That these elementary political lessons have not been learned was recently indicated in Ontario. A letter was circulated by Mrs. Peg Stewart, the NDP provincial secretary treasurer, on behalf of the provincial executive. The letter was addressed to all presidents, secretaries, candidates and campaign managers. It tells us that the provincial executive is "very much concerned about the communist problem in the coming election." It warns about Trotskyists and Communists infiltrating

(See Page 4—WHIP OUT)

Vanguard Sustaining Drive Rolling Ahead of Schedule

All's well with our drive to build up a $2,500 reserve to see the Vanguard comes off the presses for the next year. Usually at the half way point campaign directors are in the unenviable position of exhorting, pushing, hoping, and seeking ways to assure success. Well, at the half way point we have gathered in 62% of our objective—$1,583.40. If we just keep on at this pace we will not only win the entire amount but go considerably over the top.

The two major reasons why we are in the excellent position that we are: (1) The inspiring support that has come from young socialists in the Toronto area, many of whom are students with little to spare. They have contributed $250 so far and have guaranteed another $50. (2) The excellent contributions that have come in from our supporters in Alberta. They have forwarded $285. For the first time in some years Quebec appears on our scoreboard with $25.

Toronto is coming through and on time with $681.40 of its $1,000 objective. The campaign director there tells us that on the basis of the pledges that have been made so far we are assured that they will go at least $300 over their $1,000 objective. Vancouver has forwarded $325—just slightly behind schedule on its quota of $750. And while $17 has come in from Ocean Falls there is more, and many other points are yet to be heard from.

What can a campaign manager say in the face of such a fine response? Don't ease off! Keep it coming! For in all honesty we need the three or four hundred dollars that it seems certain will come in over and above our objective. We need even more. We just thought it wasn't possible to raise it!

SUPPORT THE NDP URGES CLC RALLY

"In order that we may elect a government which will put the community and its people ahead of the interests of special and privileged classes," without one dissenter, the 1,100 delegates assembled at the Canadian Labor Congress Convention in Vancouver adopted a political action resolution encouraging affiliates and union members to give all out support to the New Democratic Party.

In the spirit of this resloution delegate Gerry Gallagher declared it is "intolerable" that certain international union constitutions bar Canadian locals from politics. "They should be told in no uncertain terms to keep their hand out of our business," said this president of a Toronto Local of the International Hod Carriers Building and Common Laborer's Union, and NDP candidate for Toronto-Broadview. Local members have repeatedly urged affiliation with the NDP but have not forced the issue because, Gallagher said, key union officials have urged delay pending the outcome of the resolution passed by the convention urging the CLC executive to ask

IN ATTACK ON BUREAUCRACY, CASTRO DECLARES —

"We Will Overcome All Injustices"

The following are excerpts from a major speech made by Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro on March 26 in which he attacked bureaucratic developments in the new revolutionary party being formed there. Castro's principal target was one of the top leaders of the former Communist Party, Anibal Escalante. All the speculations of the daily press notwithstanding, Castro's speech is a powerful declaration that the revolution belongs to the masses and vivid testimony that it continues to unfold in the direction of the socialist democracy such as existed in the Soviet Union in the revolutionary days of Lenin and Trotsky.

To begin with, I would like to refer to a saying of Lenin, that the attitude, that is the seriousness of purpose, of a revolutionary party is measured basically by the attitude it takes towards its own errors. And in the same way, our seriousness of purpose as revolutionists and as members of the government will be measured by the attitude we take toward our own errors.

Revolutionary Organizations have been conducting a wide-ranging discussion. We have been making a serious analysis, an honest analysis, a deep analysis of this whole process, of the integration process, from January 1st up to the present. We have been analyzing all that has been done, the good things which have been done and also the errors which have been made.

conservative ideas, against the deserters, against those who wavered, against those with negative attitudes, was sectarianism . . . .

What tendency was manifesting itself? An opposite tendency began to manifest itself. The tendency to mistrust everybody, the tendency to mistrust everyone who could not claim a long record of Marxism militancy, who had not been an old marxist militant . . . .

When it was reported: "Such and such a chargé d'affaires deserted, such and such a consul deserted, such and such an attaché deserted"; it was not conceivable that the Republic could permit itself the luxury of

The Workers Vanguard #74 - Apr. 1962

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81 QUEEN ST. W., TORONTO

The Workers Vanguard #74 - Apr. 1962

Trade Union Notes

A Quebec-Ontario wide teamsters strike shaped up as 8 of 9 strikebound interprovincial trucking companies applied for court injunctions to smash teamsters picket lines. The pickets set up by the some 1,400 striking Quebec teamsters, have cut traffic between Quebec and Ontario by an estimated 85%.

Three of the firms have also filed formal complaints in criminal court, unprecedented in Quebec, on the charge that the week-long strike is illegal. The workers struck three days following the report of a conciliation board—four days short of the legal waiting time. The basic rate in Quebec is 1.55 an hour. The union's demands, scaled down in the process of lengthy negotiations to 30 cents over three years, were met with a conciliation offer of a piddling 16 cents. A couple of the smaller outfits settled on the union demands.

The strike in Quebec has resulted in extensive layoffs of Ontario teamsters. The 8,000 Ontario teamsters who opened up contract negotiations with many of the same companies through the Auto Transport Industrial Relations Bureau early last fall, have only now moved out of the negotiation maze onto the conciliation stall stage. Base rate in Ontario is $1.78. The union's demand was $3.02 an hour and a 40-hour work week, roughly the U.S. rate. Union negotiators dropped this down to 47 cents over three years and the companies offered a mere 15 cents.

Toronto militants around the paper FWD are putting the heat on the Ontario leadership to call a membership meeting to mobilize the local for action. What is the idea, they ask, of one of the Toronto barns organized there but unorganized in Montreal being allowed to scab on Montreal teamsters? What's the idea of continuing conciliation processes with bosses in Toronto who in Montreal are taking us into the criminal courts and are known to be considering civil action in the hope of looting our union treasury and smashing our union?

For General Strike

"We can either put up with more and worse legislation in the future or start to organize for a general strike now, in case we need to call one," says Local 16-601 of the Oil and Atomic Workers International Union in a letter submitted to the Vancouver Labor Council.

It was this local that the B.C. Federation brass, rather than initiate direct action, assigned the task of testing the B.C. Social Credit government's union-busting Bill 42 in the courts. The

81 Queen Street West
Toronto
June 18, 1962

Dear Comrade Shriver

4520 R4

Here is the address of our young comrade now resident in West Germany. Somewhile back he worte me of going to Helsinki however other matters may have caused him to modify his ideas on this so I would suggest you write him immediately...so he can make if necessary any adjustments .

John Riddell
Beethoven Place
Frankfurt Main West 13
German Federal Republic, and W Berlin

Besides being an excellent experience for him he can be of invaluable aid to our forces there. Very telert young man, aggressive, competent linguist, acquainted with many of our Eurpean forces.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Who Will Rule Canada--Labor or Capital?

By P. KENT

Who shall rule Canada? What NDP leader Douglas has called the "power elite," the capitalists and their Tory-Liberal-SC cabal? Shall Canada continue to be an economic dictatorship in which "we have less and less to say about our economic life?" Or will the people—the working farmer, the logger, fisherman, the housewife and the industrial worker rule?

That question confronts the country day in and day out. It is posed before us in the coming federal election. The choice is Liberal-Tory-Social Credit or New Democratic Party. Shall the power elite continue to dictate, to further entrench their rule; or will this election see an NDP government in power so that we can begin to change the situation —to move forward in the direction of a socialist Canada. That is the issue in the election—capital vs. labor. Make no mistake about it!

Following the election—if the Diefenbaker government is returned, within one year, predicts Toronto Eglinton Tory candidate Fred Stinson, Canadian forces will be nuclear armed. "Before making a final decision on nuclear armament," said Liberal leader Pearson to a Prince George audience, he would have to be in government office.

As the election campaign got under way the Tories gave a booster charge to the cost of living already at an all time high, when they devalued the dollar to put the monopolists in a better trade position on the international market. NDP leader Douglas warns that this act amounts to

(See Page 3—FUNDAMENTAL)

US Test Arguments Uncovered as Fraud

By JOHN BANNON

While nuclear test ban talks drag on at Geneva, fallout continues to spread around the globe from the American tests in the Pacific, adding to the contamination of the air we breathe. This criminal act by the Kennedy government follows outright rejection of Soviet test moratorium proposals and constitutes blackmail of the current talks. In recent weeks the Pentagon position on the tests has been exposed by two highly qualified Americans and by the results of underground blasts conducted by the government itself, as a tissue of lies and hypocrisy.

In the face of international outcries against its tests the State department has advanced a garbled and lying "justification." First, that the USSR has made a test ban accord impossible by refusing to accept "inspection controls." American negotiators, in insisting on inclusion of this point, claim that underground tests are undetectable, or, at any rate, extremely difficult to detect. They thus claim that without inspection — which the Russians have labelled espionage — a ban would be meaningless. From that position they fall back on the line that a new test series is necessary from a military point of view, to bring US information "up to date" following the Russian tests.

FULL OF HOLES

The argument that underground blasts are undetectable is "as full of holes as Swiss cheese," exploded L. Donald Leet, Harvard University geologist, and seismograph station director there since 1931. In a recent interview in **Harvard Crimson**, the undergraduate newspaper, he added, "Three months ago, I wasn't aware that it (US 'data' presented at the talks) would be carried over and used at Geneva. How the hell can a thing like this go on? When I found out, I was mad enough to do some digging."

After digging, Leet discovered that the Berkner panel findings, used by US representatives in 1959 to block negotiations when a test ban agreement was near, "had data so insufficient that . . . the Russians took one look at the stuff and laughed. And they were right. Any good seismologist would have laughed."

After investigating the composition of the panel Leet concluded that, "The forces that I now realize are operating here are financially powerful . . . $24,000,000 worth of contracts were awarded to siesmology in one year, but not to seismologists." Both the US Defense Department and the Disarmament and Control Agency brushed off attempts by Leet to protest the situation.

UNCHALLENGEABLE FACTS

Recent data obtained from an actual test case confirms Leet's observations to the hilt. As reported in the **Globe and Mail** of May 9, 1962, an underground test, conducted in Carlsbad, New Mexico, on December 10, 1961, at a depth of 1,184 feet was recorded not only at points in the US, Canada and Sweden, but at Nurmijarmi, Finland, some 5,200 miles away. "Instead of being reduced by a factor of 2.5 . . . the seismic impact of Gnome, as the project was called, was increased by the same factor or slightly more." (our emphasis). So much for the "theories" of State department scientists! The very conditions under which the test took place were claimed to be those which would render the blast undetectable.

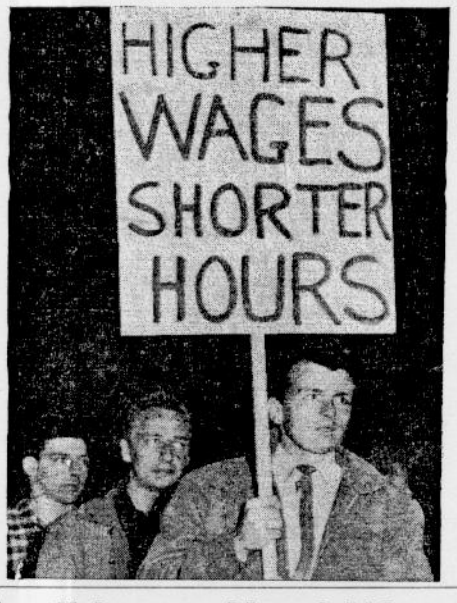
As for the claim that the tests

(See Page 2—U.S. EXPOSED)

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 7 (No. 3) (75) June, 1962 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Toronto Teamsters Picket



Teamsters Solid Tie-Up Que. Ont.

JUNE 4—Over 8,000 Ontario teamsters linked their forces with the already striking Quebec truckers by hitting the bricks last week. Hundreds of tractor trailers carrying thousands of tons of freight which normally roll along Ontario and Quebec highways have ground to a halt. Even B.C. bound trucks are idle in the depots.

The 2,000 Toronto-based teamsters organized in Local 938 struck in defiance of their leadership, who had been manoeuvring to make a deal with the bosses for some 8 months. They pulled the pin and set up picket lines after a stormy 3 hour membership meeting, Sunday May 27th.

Before the meeting in Scarborough Arena had officially started militants waved picket signs that read: "$2.50 an hour—40 hours a week," "Teamsters Local 938 on Strike," "938 on Strike—Don't Scab," "40 for 48," "We want protection against piggy-back."

Minutes after 938 President Ken McDougall opened the meeting by announcing that the conciliation board report was the only order of business, he launched into a vicious attack against a group of rank and file militants organized as FWD (short for Forward with Democracy). McDougall smeared FWD as a bunch of splitters.

FWD supporter Alan Harris seized a mike. Agreeing with McDougall that there is a small group of splitters in the local he turned the charge. "The splitters are sitting up there on the platform. The splitters of the local are the executive. The 8 months of your negotiations with nothing to show for it is wrecking this local," he charged.

McDougall cut him off with a snarl—"sit down or be thrown out." Harris stood by his right to be heard. Immediately McDougall ordered 3 or 4 goons into action. But as they came within a few feet of Harris they were surrounded by a chair flying, fist swinging group of members who weren't taking any strong-arm nonsense from anybody.

The battle broke up. Harris remained in the hall and McDougall tried to get off the spot by reading the more than hour long conciliation board report (even though everybody in the arena had read it). The report called for basically the same contract as the old one, with a wage increase of 24½ cents spread over 44 months. He then went on to read a list of proposals that had been agreed upon by the negotiating committee and the companies.

To their amazement the ranks heard that even should they vote for strike, the negotiating committee had agreed to give the companies four days strike notice. Rubbing salt into the wounds the executive refused to count the ballots until the following day. Pandimonium broke loose. Members swarmed around the rear mike demanding that the leadership quit stalling and get on with the strike.

At one time in this heated argument McDougall cut off the mike but even this did not stop the angry teamsters from voicing their opinions. The leadership could do what it liked. But as far as the men were concerned they were on strike. Even McDougall's claim that the international would not give strike pay ,and that any strike would be illegal if it didn't have the approval of the executive, failed to stop the membership from going ahead. The meeting broke up with the membership voting strike with their feet—scattering through the city to organize picket lines at the various barns.

On Monday ballots from Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor were pooled and counted — with the majority voting in favour of strike—2,456 to 1,532.

The leadership of all 5 striking locals have been dragged along by the hair. Since the old contract expired last fall, they've stalled and blocked every attempt by the membership for militant action. Now that the rank and file have taken the initiative and placed the local in a powerful

(See Page 2—ONT. TEAMSTERS)

Trailblazers Head West To Start Vanguard Drive

The Trailblazers are off! Heading west from Toronto four young socialists plan to spend their summer introducing the **Vanguard** along with harder to get socialist literature to workers in cities and towns all the way out to Vancouver.

They will spend their days going door-to-door talking to workers, housewives, and students and using the **Vanguard** to introduce socialist ideas to those who have never before had the opportunity to hear anything but the capitalist press version of what socialism means.

Evenings they will spend renewing old acquaintances and holding public meetings. The meetings will largely center on Cuba. One of the Trailblazers spent a month there this past winter, and two more months travelling through Central America observing the effects of the Cuban successes on the oppressed masses of these countries.

Not leaving all the work up to these energetic four, members and friends of the LSA elsewhere are making an effort to increase the circulation of the **Vanguard** in their areas. Toronto supporters have set an objective of 600 points, and Vancouver a minimum of 200.

If you find the Vanguard interesting, find it provides useful facts about the trade union movement and is useful in discussion about and in the NDP, take out a sub if you haven't already got one. If you have a friend you think would like to get it, why not get him to take out a sub. Each subscription helps in the building of an alert Canadian working class movement.

U OF T PRESIDENT TELLS THE TRUTH ABOUT CHINA

For the West "to stay aloof and try to subvert China would be courting disaster," said Dr. Claude T. Bissell in an interview with the **Toronto Star** on May 14 upon his return from a three-week visit of educational and cultural institutions in China. Dr. Bissell, president of the University of Toronto, largest in the Commonwealth, was accompanied on his visit by Geoffrey C. Andrew, executive director of the Canadian Universities Foundation.

"The view we got," he said, "was that China could live peacefully with any nation, regardless of its political system—whether Communist or what they term imperialist." He added that the Chinese "deny heatedly" that their views on co-existence call for subversion or war. They felt that Westerners "were badly misinformed" and that China's views were widely misinterpreted on the question of co-existence.

Dr. Bissell was surprised to learn that the Chinese consider US President Kennedy to be "more dangerous" than was Eisenhower because of his actions against Cuba and Viet Nam.

On his trip he found no evidence in the cities of malnutrition or starvation despite Chinese admission of food shortages due to floods and drought.

The Chinese attempt to educate their people impressed Dr. Bissell. About 80% of Chinese children now go to school compared with 20% before the revolution, and 900,000 attend university compared to 20,000 before. Though the figures were spectacular, Dr. Bissell said he "saw no reason to discredit them." He said that 37%-40% of the student body is in the applied science field — slightly less than 25% are women who take the courses without discrimination on account of sex.

The Workers Vanguard

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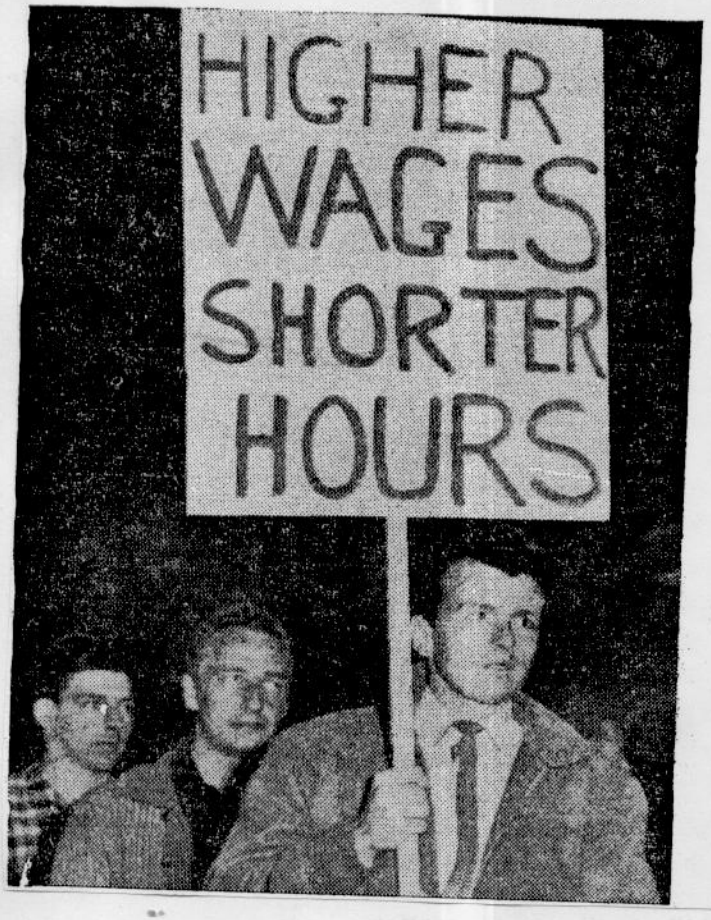
Toronto Teamsters Picket



Teamsters Solid Tie-Up Que. Ont.

JUNE 4—Over 8,000 Ontario teamsters linked their forces with the already striking Quebec truckers by hitting the bricks last week. Hundreds of tractor trailers carrying thousands of tons of freight which normally roll along Ontario and Quebec highways have ground to a halt. Even B.C. bound trucks are idle in the depots.

The 2,000 Toronto-based teamsters organized in Local 938 struck in defiance of their leadership, who had been manoeuvring to make a deal with the bosses for some 8 months. They pulled the pin and set up picket lines after a stormy 3 hour membership meeting, Sunday May 27th.

Before the meeting in Scarborough Arena had officially started militants waved picket signs that read: "$2.50 an hour—40 hours a week," "Teamsters Local 938 on Strike," "938 on Strike—Don't Scab," "40 for 48," "We want protection against piggy-back."

Minutes after 938 President Ken McDougall opened the meeting by announcing that the conciliation board report was the only order of business, he launched into a vicious attack against a group of rank and file militants organized as FWD (short for Forward with Democracy). McDougall smeared FWD as a bunch of splitters.

FWD supporter Alan Harris seized a mike. Agreeing with McDougall that there is a small group of splitters in the local he turned the charge. "The splitters are sitting up there on the platform. The splitters of the local are the executive. The 8 months of your negotiations with nothing to show for it is wrecking this local," he charged.

McDougall cut him off with a snarl—"sit down or be thrown out." Harris stood by his right to be heard. Immediately McDougall ordered 3 or 4 goons into action. But as they came within a few feet of Harris they were surrounded by a chair flying, fist swinging group of members who weren't taking any strong-arm nonsense from anybody.

The battle broke up. Harris remained in the hall and McDougall tried to get off the spot by reading the more than hour long conciliation board report (even though everybody in the arena had read it). The report called for basically the same contract as the old one, with a wage increase of 24½ cents spread over 44 months. He then went on to read a list of proposals that had been agreed upon by the negotiating committee and the companies.

To their amazement the ranks heard that even should they vote for strike, the negotiating committee had agreed to give the companies four days strike notice. Rubbing salt into the wounds the executive refused to count the ballots until the following day. Pandimonium broke loose. Members swarmed around the rear mike demanding that the leader-

(See Page 2—ONT. TEAMSTERS)

Ont. Teamsters Join Que.

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(Continued from Page 1)

ship quit stalling and get on with the strike.

At one time in this heated argument McDougall cut off the mike but even this did not stop the angry teamsters from voicing their opinions. The leadership could do what it liked. But as far as the men were concerned they were on strike. Even McDougall's claim that the international would not give strike pay ,and that any strike would be illegal if it didn't have the approval of the executive, failed to stop the membership from going ahead. The meeting broke up with the membership voting strike with their feet—scattering through the city to organize picket lines at the various barns.

On Monday ballots from Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor were pooled and counted — with the majority voting in favour of strike—2,456 to 1,532.

The leadership of all 5 striking locals have been dragged along by the hair. Since the old contract expired last fall, they've stalled and blocked every attempt by the membership for militant action. Now that the rank and file have taken the initiative and placed the local in a powerful position the leadership is still holding on to their coat-tails.

The leadership in Hamilton and Windsor have fallen for the bosses' policy of splitting the union's ranks by signing "open end agreements," a device that gives the companies a licence to scab. In Toronto, under the pressure of the rank and file, the leadership have not been able to get away with this gimmick. That the strike is solid with pickets mounted 24 hours a day at all the barns across the city is a tribute to the initiative of the rank and file. A full week has gone by since the struggle was launched, but the official and representative strike committee under the direction of the executive has met only once. The executive is sitting on the strike hoping that the rank and file militancy will subside, and they will once again have a free hand to settle policy.

The companies, for their part, have been singing the blues on how much the strike is costing them, and are trying to break the unity of the strike in various ways. Scobies Transport, which has 235 pieces of equipment, made headlines in the Toronto **Telegram** with its declared intention to sell out. According to Lorne S. Scobie, president of the company, the men have "tears in their eyes as they see the equipment driven away." But the picket line remains solid. Steinberg's Supermarkets, having a contract with striking Western Freightlines, bought a fleet of Western trucks in order to keep their supermarkets supplied and to beat the strike.

A boss and two company drivers from M and P Transport had the nerve to go to the union hall to try and get a separate agreement. They were met by jeers and ash cans from the strikers. Instead of splitting the union's ranks, the company's ranks were split. One of the drivers came over to the side of the union. The M and P boss left without a contract.

So far the strike has had a tremendous impact. The CNR yards have such a surplus of freight on their hands that their drivers have stopped making pick-ups. All major transport companies in the two key industrial provinces of the country have millions of dollars worth of equipment standing idle. Thousands of tons of freight lies on the loading docks. Even some non-union trucks were caught in union terminals and have not been allowed to move.

Striking Quebec truckers waited seven weeks for their brothers in Ontario to join them in battle against the same companies. If the strikers' ranks remain firm and they keep a sharp control of their union leadership, the companies will soon crumble under the tremendous pressure bearing down on them. They will soon sign a contract with the teamsters that grants the demands so rightfully put forward by the men.

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

Welcomes YOU to attend

in Vancouver

A STUDY CLASS

Every Wednesday Night

875 East Hastings.

in Toronto

A FORUM

Every Friday Night

81 Queen Street West.

The Workers Vanguard #75 - Jun 1962

Trailblazers Head West To Start Vanguard Drive

The Trailblazers are off! Heading west from Toronto four young socialists plan to spend their summer introducing the **Vanguard** along with harder to get socialist literature to workers in cities and towns all the way out to Vancouver.

They will spend their days going door-to-door talking to workers, housewives, and students and using the **Vanguard** to introduce socialist ideas to those who have never before had the opportunity to hear anything but the capitalist press version of what socialism means.

Evenings they will spend renewing old acquaintances and holding public meetings. The meetings will largely center on Cuba. One of the Trailblazers spent a month there this past winter, and two more months travelling through Central America observing the effects of the Cuban successes on the oppressed masses of these countries.

Not leaving all the work up to these energetic four, members and friends of the LSA elsewhere are making an effort to increase the circulation of the **Vanguard** in their areas. Toronto supporters have set an objective of 600 points, and Vancouver a minimum of 200.

If you find the Vanguard interesting, find it provides useful facts about the trade union movement and is useful in discussion about and in the NDP, take out a sub if you haven't already got one. If you have a friend you think would like to get it, why not get him to take out a sub. Each subscription helps in the building of an alert Canadian working class movement.

Vanguard Drive Tops Objective

Readers and supporters of the **Vanguard** responded better than ever before to the Vanguard financial campaign this year. Contributors wanting to make sure the paper continues to come out and to improve exceeded the original $2,500 objective by almost $500.

In Toronto the campaign wound up May 19 with a banquet that featured Joe Hansen, recently returned from a four month tour of Latin America, as the main speaker. Over 125 guests of the League for Socialist Action heard Hansen, editor of the **Militant**, an American socialist weekly, describe in vivid detail the misery and poverty that prevails in that explosive part of the world. Inspired by the success of the Cuban revolution, he stated, the workers and peasants movements are growing rapidly and becoming more and more a threat to the dictatorships that US imperialism keeps in power throughout South America. Responding generously to an appeal to support the paper that tells the full truth about Cuba, the audience contributed close to 250 dollars.

At the time the campaign closed, members of the League and friends across the country had not only met, but surpassed their original objectives. Vancouver at closing date was $50 ahead of the $700 they originally set as their goal. Workers and old timers in the fight for socialism, from the rest of B.C. rushed in another $70. Alberta socialists sent a total of $300. Toronto outdid itself by raising over $500 more than what it thought was possible at the outset of the campaign.

Thanks to this unprecedented response to the needs of the paper, we of the **Vanguard** have new opportunities to make the paper an even more effective weapon in the hands of workers in the coming year.

Pamphlet Outlines Interrelations of:
THE SOCIALISTS AND THE NDP
By ROSS DOWSON

(from Workers' Vanguard, June 1962 -- Title: "What the LSA is, and what it stands for"*)*

The publication of this pamphlet is certainly timely. With the federal election there is an intense interest in what the New Democratic Party is. The opponents of the NDP are attempting to create a public image for it — "from the capitalist-reformist Liberals, who at times cuddle up to it and present it as a futile if well meaning movement, to the Social Crediters *(right-wing populist party in Alberta, B.C. and Quebec --ed.)* who damn it as the thin edge of an international totalitarian conspiracy. Those who won the day and assumed the leadership of the NDP following the intense policy debates at the founding convention, through many leaflets issued in the name of the party, through speeches by federal leader Douglas and candidates, are also giving a specific image to the party.

While the purpose of this pamphlet is to explain what the League for Socialist Action is, of necessity it defines what the NDP is. It characterizes the NDP as a labor-farmer party, a party of the working people which projects the possibility of taking the power out of the hands of the capitalist class and eliminating once and for all the recurring depressions spawned by capitalism, of eliminating its wars, and ushering in a new world of peace and plenty. To achieve this aim the LSA is of the opinion that the party must be won to a class struggle program and a socialist objective.

While the NDP presents a more or less united face to its capitalist opponents it is composed of widely differing currents, tendencies, and alliances. The political spectrum within the NDP is a wide one. It ranges from Liberals who are disillusioned with the official machine, trade union bureaucrats who see political action as a substitute for on-the-job action, to trade union militants, utopians of various types, to socialists.

At the founding convention the alignments were sharp around such crucial issues as the rights of the delegates versus the authority of the official committees, the question of public ownership, support of NATO, etc. And this didn't exhaust the situation. Even within the forces of the old gang who frittered away the CCF, and the top trade union brass, there were cleavages over who should get this or that post. As if from out of nowhere slates appeared for the various offices up for election. For some the struggle over posts and the rewards of office was more important than the program of the party and actually determined their position in the votes on policy.

Everyone knows that these alignments, blocs, caucuses existed at the founding convention. To claim that they no longer exist would not only be fraudulent but would be to characterize the NDP as a sterile, and not a living body. Every provincial convention since then has been the scene of maneuverings — the less political, the less principled in character, the more intense and bitter.

The fact that these forces do not declare themselves publicly is obviously not in any way proof of their non-existence. On the contrary it only testifies that they are constituted on such a basis that fears to face honest public scrutiny. To hide their existence, to create an atmosphere of semi-illegality, does not moderate or eliminate differences in the party, it only intensifies them, distorts their character and renders their resolution in the interests of the working class more difficult.

One of the chief merits of the League for Socialist Action is that it cuts through all this hypocrisy and deception by declaring its existence openly, and publicly announcing its aims and objectives. This pamphlet outlines the tasks before the party as seen by this socialist caucus.

Strange to say this open and above-board policy has only infuriated the right wing of the party. Can it be because it exposes the unprincipled character of their **secret** alliances? Perhaps with the left taking on a more sustained character through the League and the *Vanguard* they see less possibility of demoralizing it, of scattering it or absorbing it, as has happened in the past, and the certainty of its increasing influence.

Early this year the B.C. provincial executive laid charges of disloyalty against a group of leading left-wing NDPers for "joining with members of another organization in furthering the policies of *Vanguard*," which policies they characterized of course "as being inimical to those of the NDP." Later the whole matter was dropped.

In Ontario the provincial executive, without any hearings, has formally rejected the membership application of half a dozen persons and is sitting on the membership of scores of others — the bulk of them former CCF card holders. The grounds for this action are that they are alleged to be members of the LSA which, in passing, they designate an opponent political party. By so doing they hope to entrench their authority and to prevent leftists from coordinating their efforts.

They are frustrating the democratic process. They are denying the fundamental character of the movement as a Canadian peoples' party. They are creating an atmosphere where openly declared caucuses are outlaw; for what caucus could exist without risking the danger of being declared an opponent political party.

Perhaps by making things difficult for the socialists, by forcing them underground and compelling them to take on some of the appearances of a conspiracy, the top brass hope to panic them into leaving the NDP and its rank and file to their tender mercies, into setting up an independent and opponent political party. That is just what Editor Bill Pikot of the New Democratic Youth paper *Viewpoint* would have the left do, from his attack on the League and *Vanguard*, taking up almost one third of the April issue. He charges the LSA, which he estimates numbers 500, with, for some strange reason, seeking to "destroy" the NDP "from within by disruption rather than trying to fight it from without by an open and honest fight."

Naturally enough Mr. Pikot does not deal with the program of the LSA, with any of its aims and objectives as outlined in this pamphlet, with anything that has appeared in the *Vanguard*. He deals almost entirely with what he considers to be the motives of the LSA, its hidden purposes that are known to him through telepathy, divine revelation, or some other mysterious and secret way.

And of course Mr. Pikot, like his right wing mentors, attempts to present the program of the NDP as adopted at its founding convention as something immutable, fixed, static; and the viewpoint of the present leadership an integral part of, as being natural, inherent to the party. In so far as he says anything about the LSA's ideas it is summed up in the phrase that the LSA "disagrees with the principles of the party, that the LSA is attempting to use our party for principles which the NDP opposes and abhors."

A major portion of the article is devoted to an effort to separate forces, to which its author would give a certain legitimacy as the left, an acceptable left, from the Trotskyists, who it seems are "guilty" of promoting the concept that the left should stick together. This is one of three theories that Pikot charges the LSA has "invented."

Pikot attempts to split the left and to lay the grounds for the exclusion of the LSA from the NDP with a series of fabrications and lies that are worthy of a scandal sheet, not the official organ of the NDP youth. The best answer to this shameful material in this pamphlet. It commits the LSA to a policy of unconditional support of the NDP. It outlines the nature of the problem confronting Canada's labor-farmer party and projects what it thinks the program of the party should be. Every NDPer should read it and judge for himself as to where he should stand.

=====box

Bertrand Russell Defies Gaitskell's Threat to Purge Labor Left-Wing

". . . an impertinence and a gross insult to the millions who support the Labor Party," Bertrand Russell labeled the British Labor Party executive's demand that he, Lord Chorley, and Cannon John Collins, consult it over their sponsorship of a world disarmament conference in Moscow this summer. This executive action is a part of a witch-hunt of unprecedented scope against all those who oppose the H-Bomb in the party. Leading officers have been instructed to investigate CND influence in local Labor Parties and the extent "the campaign has been infiltrated by Communists and Trotskyites." Two young socialist papers *Keep Left and Young Guard*, which have consistently opposed the bomb are to be immediately proscribed. Seven members of the National Committee of the Young Socialists (a majority) are to be asked to give reasons to the executive as to why they should not be expelled from the party.

"I suggest," said the eminent philosopher and mathematician, "that Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Brown appear before me and explain for the benefit of the entire country their support of the atmospheric nuclear tests and their support of the Polaris in blatant defiance of the conference decisions of the party they are misleading."

The Gaitskell leadership's drive to make the Labor Party safe for the H-Bomb is certain to meet tremendous resistance. On May 14 more than 750 steel and building trade workers in Cheshire downed tools in a one-day token strike in opposition to the Tory H-Bomb and the resumption of the tests. At a meeting after the demonstration the chief steward declared "this could be the beginning of mass industrial action against the bomb."

=====box

July 17, 1962

Vancouver

Dear Des

I am not positive but I take it from Ernie's notes concerning your accident that you are now safely ensconced in Falscrick Manor in the process of recuperation.

Well yoursis our first accident on any of the tours. I think Pat was constipated for about a week as he refused to use outside conveninnes he came through alright--in fact during the period he even looked a littl plumper and healthier. I hope it wasn't and insn't now too painful. And that you are now well on the way to recovery. The tour will be weaker with your absence but I think they will get along alright. In fact one of our tours only had three for the whole period

We have been unable to send anyone from here and as you probably know have asked Vancouver to see if they can arrange anything. There are quite a few comrades wanting to go. But we cannot let Dick or Alan. And we cann not let Pat with things only now opening up in Steel ares nor Alan after the tremendous role he played in the Teamsters strike. Gordon failed in his exams and has to try them over this Fall so cant go. It boiled down to three. But then we eliminated Dave who is now on his way to work a month at Mountain Spring camp as we feel he is not sufficiently stable or reliable for this work. John D who has been on it decided a while back to return to school and if he is to do so is going to have to pull togeth every cent he can. Jim O has decided not to go to school and has picked u a job with Pat at GSW. We dont like to break our first little concentrati there and he tells me that his folks would break off from him should he go as they know nothing about his connections other than NDY.So the real probelm is that the accident comes too late with everyone making plans of a personal-political character which it is not easy now to interfere with and for which there is no real emergency to justifyingx doing so.

We have just shipped off via truck transport all the shirts etc that you had down here. Everything but your brief case which was too bulky to get into any of the cases that we had--it wont collapse.We will have to get this out to you some other way. Everything is going to Ruth Tate's place. I have informed her. They shoud be there in about 5 days. In order to protect a few things we had to shuffle several items around--Ernie's typewriter is with your shirts etc. But I do not think there will be any difficulty in straightening things out.

And so now you are in Vancouver. Your experience on the tour even though cut off sooner than expected should be a valuable help to the comrades there. And a good experience too, wasn't it. Too bad you didn't get to Saskatchewan with all the fireworks there but I suppose you met all kinds of CCF-NDPers, union militants, CPers with an infinite number of views and angles that you had never heard before. And it is a good emotional experience to be sort of footloose and on your own isn't it. The whole experience has probably had a bigger impact on you and even you think

As a matter of fact I am going to have a somewhat similar experience - through my going to England then to France and Italy broken away from a set up that I have been working in since about 1946--with totally different surroundings, different responsibilities, different associati etc.

You are going to have to pull out of that set-up shortly-Ian Macphe will be out there shortly . I was up to see him in hospital last night and he says he will be out in three or four days- will stay a few more then will be taing a plane back home to Vancouver. And you are probably using his room. How are you fixed for money. Have you registered for un- employment insurance. My impression is that there are lots of rooms at reasonble rates in Vancouver. I would doubt that you will have diffi culty picking up a job--and if you are hard up and jobless for a short while I am sure we can work out a loan

You have landed in a good area for work--socialist work that is. From all reports the youth group is a very vigerous one with lots of op ortunities---as you will soon see many more than we have here at this time. You will have no trouble in fitting in--the friendly West.Excell headquarters. What more could you ask.

Take it easy but take it

fraternally

Ross

Drop a note to the youth about your rise and fall and resurrection.

81 Queen Street West
July 22, 1962

Ocean Falls

Dear Bob

Gald to hear that you will be coming through Toronto in the next month. But sorry to say that I will not be here. In the next week , not sure of the day I will be heading either for Cuba or for England. And I will be away for three months.

I dont know whether you were able to get down to the Vancouver meeting for Joe Hansen--probably not. That was the meeting where he reported on his Latin American tour. Aside from his public address he held a 5 to 8 hour meeting here and probably did the same in Vancouver during which he gave the deatield picture of the state of health and extent of our forces, other currents and tendencies of the left. The Cuban revolution had had tremendous impact in Latin America nad there are whole new possibilities opening up for our movement. Since I am leaving this week there are a great many matters I have to clean up so I will be unable to give you any real picture of these developments other than to say that the Cuban revol ution itself and the new opportunities that are opening up right across thr world make it m re pressing than ever that the forces of the world movement be unified. Furthermore in the light of the fact that the differences have been narrowing between the forces of the IC and the IS it is also essential. The IC has gone on record favoring certain moves in the direction of co-ordinating and eventually fusing our forces but there are many problems. Joe Hansen is going over this week on behalf of the Militant and intends to stay for at least a year. I have been asked to go but we have decided that it is not possible to stay more than three months

Right now I am still waiting hoping that the Cuban government will answer yes to my request that they pick me up and park me down in Cuba for a couple of weeks. The Ambassador received my r quest and sent it on. So far no word although they are notoriously inefficient. Their inefficiency makes me think that while July 26 is only four days away that they may still send the word to come. It would be invaluable if before going to Europe I was able to spend a couple of weeks in Cuba. I would like to meet and discuss with our comrades. I suppose you read in the Militant the report that Trotskyist literature is now for sale on the streets. This was affirmed a few days ago by a Negro photographer that just dropped in on us after having come in from spending 6 months in Cuba via the Cuban Airlines. I will be leaving for Europe on July 26 probably and am really looking forward to meeting all the British comrades--will probably fo to Italy and France too. It will be a new experience for me --I have never been outside of Canada accept for a few trips to New York, Seattle, Chicago. It will also be a new experience for the comrades here---my absence. All in all a good experience I would think. Right now we have five comrades away involved in the national tour. One of the original four seriously sprained his ankle and has gone onto Vancouver and we have had to send antoehr to Winnipeg

Come into Toronto anyway by all means. The comrades would like to meet both you and Angus. It will be very rewarding to meet the Detroit comrades. Some of the top SWPers are there. George Breitman lives there.Although he is not at all well he is one of the most able on the continet. Frank Lovell and his wife are also extremely able comrades. Lovell is a first class trade union ist. He at one time headed the Mariti e fraction and wrote an excellent book on Maritime union movement and problems. He should be of real aid. I do not have anyone's personal address but here is the headquarters address

Frank Lovell
3737 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.

Glad to hear that things are moving a bit in Ocean Falls. We have just come through the biggest trade union involvement that we have ever had. I suppose you read the reportson the Teasmters Union strike in recent Vanguards. The coming or next issue will carry a rounded balance sheet. FWD played a big role--in fact all oppositionists to the machine have been designated over some of their protests as FWDers. We had six comrades in the strike and at varying turning points while the exectuive remained solid we played the decisive role. Everyone has learned a great deal. We put the paper out quite regualrly and played the decisive role in the key meetings. Of course the settlement is a poor one but the final meetings that the ranks forced onto the leadership clearly pointed out the source , the reason to be of the poor settlement--weak leadership. The present leadership is hoeplessly discreddited and while electionsare a while off it seems certain it will never survive. Of course a lot of things can happen in the meantime. There are strong currents in various barns to pull out of t his local and even out of the teamsters. The CBRT probably has its eyes on Smith and several other outfits now belonging to the railways. This Wednesday we are going to have an internal educational on the lessons. A couple of comrades are involved in the local striek of a large leather company organized by the Meatcutters--we have no one working there but have made contact as NDPyouth. One of the boys was arrested this morning when they set up a mass picket to meet workers returning from their holiday leave. Hugh is in a very com lex situation at the DeHavilland local UAW. Hawker Siddley has announced that the AVRO operation is going to be taken over by their DeHavi land operation . AVRO has been under a IAM contract. and is staffed by lengthy seniority workers--average about 15 years., The unit numbers about 750 now. DeHavilland average seniority is about 7 and the unit is around 1200. The copmany wants to grant partial seniority and intends to mix the work forces. DeHavilland is having a settlement meeting--this week if the offer is accepted it will be imposed on the AVRO workers who will in all probabilty be brought into the bargaining unit in a matter of months. A very very complex situation. The offer is not a good one and Hugh and his associates are going to oppose it- The leadership are apparently going to try to jam it through so they will have it off their hands when it comes to deal with the IAM. Burt has offered the IAM leadership recognizition of their full seniority but the DeHavilland ranks are hot as it will push them all down the ladder and while the plant is booming there is a great fear of the future.

Just finished our subscription drive here --got slighlty more than two hundred new subs. The tour is now in Winnipeg and is doing well. High interest in Cuban literature. Have you picked up a copy of the full text of Castro's speech against Escalante. Really devestating. Last week C.S. Jackson of the UE ordered 10 copies from Fair Play. I wonder what gives. This coming weekend thanks to some overtures made by Fair Play a joint picnic is being held with the Canada-Cuba Friendshio Committee set up by the CP. Should gi us a good opportunity ot contact more of their ranks and overcome their prejudice against us. Things are very quiet with the NDP. We have been unable to get a response to our urgings that the forces be raised hereand elsewhere to put on anti- Doctor and medical interests demonstrations. The youth here put on a modest one that got good publicity but many of the adults frwoned up on it. General policy is let the Daily papers carry out fight and incidentally in passing try to kill it as a political issue. The brass doesn't w want to draw lines but leave them all open for compromise and retreat. All the comrades s that there is a tremendous interest in Medicare. Waiting right now to see what kind of dea the brass of the NDP is pu ling off. Report of the convention and fears expressed by some delegates are forhodding.

Will be sending you the key document adopted by the recent SWP plenum on the interna ational question strongly related to my trip in a few days. And will be writing considerably for t e paper while away. Will try to send the odd note.

fraternally

Ross Do son

The Workers Vanguard #76 July 1962

Saskatchewan NDP Government Firm Won't Allow Doctors to Ruin Medicare

BY CLIFF ORCHARD

As the July 1 deadline for Medicare in Saskatchewan approaches, the medical hierarchy appears to be loosing its grip over the doctors. The decision of the New Democratic Party government to stand firm, to use the mandate give it by the electorate in the last provincial elections, should the doctors carry out their threat to sabotage the plan, seems certain to result in their utter rout.

While the Lloyd government has kept the basic features of the medical care plan, even newspapers as conservative as the Toronto Globe and Mail recognize that it has made every possible concession to the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons, and has demolished what the College presented as justified objections to the plan.

The NDP-CCF government made drastic concessions—even to the point of inconveniencing the plan's beneficiaries, the people of the province. Doctors are now allowed to practice outside the plan if they wish. They will bill their patients, who in turn will forward their bills to the Medical Care Commission, instead of as before billing the government directly. Several sections, disputed because they allegedly interfered with doctors' freedoms, were withdrawn and rewritten.

But even this has not prevented the power elite of the medical profession from describing the government as "that cold, ruthless, naked power of dictatorial might," and from advising doctors not to accept the rewritten act.

Bringing into sharp focus their hostility to ANY health plan sponsored by the government, H. D. Dalgleish, president of the College, plainly declared they are not seeking "slight variations in the sections of the text, but a complete rewriting of the Act, from the title right through the amendments."

Behind them stand a vast network of insurance and drug companies, beneficiaries of private medicine: the notorious Canadian and American Medical Associations: Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit politicians: and a host of reactionary clubs and social organizations, all bent on blocking what they call creeping socialism. (See Mid-March Vanguard for further details).

In launching their reactionary campaign they were emboldened when the NDP government, instead of immediately implementing the plan upon its re-election last year, delayed it until April, and then again until July.

This delay gave the College valuable time to spread confusion, build doubts, and disseminate out-and-out lies about what Medicare really is. It enabled them to form Keep Our Doctors committees which took advantage of the widespread hostility to the method of financing it. It is being financed through taxes on consumers goods, individual payments, and increased income taxes, not by taxing those most able to pay—the wealthy corporations.

Premier Lloyd's refusal to cut the heart out of the plan, his decision to go ahead regardless of what the doctors now do, his request to citizens to urge their doctors to accept the modified plan, and his appeal to the doctors not to abandon their sworn duty to humanity, greatly strengthens the possibility that the people of Saskatchewan will win in their efforts to have a provincial health plan.

The calloused and stubborn position of the College promises more sympathy and co-operation from the province's 755 doctors than was previously expected. Defections can be anticipated. Now joining the ranks of the 109 doctors who are NDP dues payers are a score of doctors who have flown in from Britain.

PULL OUT OF NATO CALLS SASK NDP

The appeal that Saskatchewan must not differ from the federal party's official policy did not deter the delegates to the annual convention of the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP from taking a clear stand that they are for Canadian withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Last year a similar resolution passed by the convention was reversed upon the personal intercession of NDP leader T. C. Douglas. This year's motion came to the floor of the convention with a motion of concurrence from the NDP youth convention held a few days previously.

One delegate charged that we are being hypocrites in sustaining the national policy which declared that the party would withdraw support should NATO become nuclear armed. NATO is already nuclear armed, he pointed out.

Chief advocate of the motion was provincial executive member Jack Shapiro. He urged the Saskatchewan convention to give leadership to the national movement on this question. He pointed to the resolutions previously passed by the convention calling for complete disarmament except for a UN police force and asked how did this policy square with membership in NATO a military alliance outside of the UN? Shapiro presented extensive documentation to prove that NATO now is a nuclear power and that the CCF-NDP must take a clear and unequivocal position for Canadian withdrawal from NATO.

How Can the NDP Go Forward Now?

An Analysis of the (Ontario) Elections

(from Workers' Vanguard, July 1962)

BY THE EDITORS

How should NDP members and supporters interpret the recent election results — what do they mean and what actions do they require of us?

In a release to the press Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald claims "we have reached the point of a major breakthrough," that with a little more money and work "every percentage point increase in the vote represents more seats." He backs up these claims with figures. The federal poll for the NDP he presents as a 50% increase, the Ontario poll he presents as reflecting "an even bigger increase" —70% more than 1958. The federal vote was just over a million — 1958 it was 671,736. The Ontario poll was 258,723 and now stands at 448,157. The only trouble is that these figures bear as much relation to the contents that MacDonald would have us buy as the outside measurement of the boxes of breakfast foods and soap chips on super market shelves bear to their contents. The members and supporters of the NDP would buy this Donald MacDonald package at the peril of the future progress and victory of the NDP.

The true picture which we must try to grasp in order to move forward to the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in this country can only be acquired from analyzing a totally different set of figures. They show that the NDP poll represents only a very modest addition to the support for the idea of a socialist Canada built up through the years by the CCF. This is revealed by the poll in 1957 — one year before Diefenbaker called the snap election that steamrollered him into office, cutting even into the longstanding base of the CCF. That year, a more accurate one to estimate the support that it had managed to build up, the CCF polled 11% of the vote. This year, the NDP polled 13.9% of the vote.

If political lines had remained static, if there had been no notable shifts in political alignments, a 2.9% increase could be considered a modest achievement, a down payment on the high hopes and expectations of the thousands of delegates who launched the party only last August. But 1957 recorded that hundreds of thousands of Canadians had dumped their former political allegiances. They voted Tory to topple the 22 year old Liberal regime. A year later they proved to be still on

the march when they gave Diefenbaker the largest number of seats in Canadian history. This year's vote revealed a continued turbulence — the electorate again struck out against the government. The protest landed up behind the Liberals and only to a modest extent behind the NDP and the Social Credit movement in Quebec. Why?

From a strategical point of view the NDP comes out of this election in a less favorable position than before. Whereas the CCF was the third party — the opposition to the Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business — with the rise of Social Credit in the East, the NDP has become the fourth party. On the eve of the 1957 election the CCF leadership with some justification could present the Tories as a declining force and the CCF as the only alternative to the Liberal incumbents. Since the 1958 landslide behind the Tories, the NDP leadership has presented the Liberals as a declining force and the NDP as the only viable alternative to the Tories. Now the Tories are in office, the Liberals have had a resurgence, Social Credit has taken on a national physiognomy and the NDP is NOT the only vehicle of protest against two capitalist parties which are NOT moving towards coalition, but a fourth party.

The NDP has no seats in either Saskatchewan or Alberta and none in the key province of Quebec. The two Winnipeg seats that have returned to the fold were won with a smaller vote than the CCF rolled up in 1957.

There are only two areas where the NDP met any of the promises that the right wing CCF leadership and the trade union brass assured us would come with the dumping of the "old socialism" and all concepts of labor, of class politics, and the adoption of the name New Democrats and all such trappings. BC is one area. The NDP won 10 seats and increased its vote from 23% in 1957 to 31% in 1962. But we must add that the CCF has been the largest single party in that province for decades, deprived of office for some years by a coalition of the boss parties. The other area is Ontario where the CCF got 12.5% of the poll in 1957 and the NDP got 17.4% this election. And even here it is necessary to pause.

Take the three Northern Ontario seats that the party held onto! In two of them the vote dropped from what the CCF polled in 1957. In the industrial area of Windsor the gain was very modest indeed. Although the poll was higher in Oshawa, home of the mighty GM UAW local, the NDP vote fell to 26% — in 1957 the CCF won 32 % of the vote. Industrial Hamilton saw only a slight rise from 22% in 1957 to 24% behind the NDP this election.

The area of biggest gain was Metropolitan Toronto where the CCF polled 16.5% of the vote in 1957 and the NDP polled 24% to win three seats — two of them new to the CCF-NDP federal fold. Even here the bulk of the gain was racked up in several of the newer expanding suburban areas. In the heart of the city, where the most exploited sections of the working class reside, the increase was very small. In two of them the vote dropped — in Davenport — from 30% in 1957 to 24%—In Trinity, 23% in 1957, to 18%.

With a prominent leader of the Steelworkers union as candidate and a well heeled and powerful machine, Davenport was thought to be a sure NDP win.

From these few comments it is apparent that this election registers a severe setback for the NDP, for the principle of independent labor political action and the struggle for a workers and fanners government. And that we have a problem that is not to be sloughed aside with the old familiar comments about the lack of funds and a developed electoral machine, actually less real than ever before. The problem is one of policy.

It is apparent that the NDP did not appear as a dynamic, as a viable alternative to the two major capitalist parties. Social Credit — a declared "free enterprise" party — made more trenchant criticism, presented itself as a more dynamic alternative to the old line parties than the NDP — than a labor party which regardless of the fears of its leadership for the word socialism poses nonetheless, great, even fundamental change in the interests of the working people.

The results of this election should come as no surprise to the readers of *Worker's Vanguard.* Last January in our analysis of the five Ontario provincial by-elections, the first important test of the policy and leadership adopted at the founding convention, we warned the party that the strategy being followed by the leadership would not work.

(NDP) Not Demarked from Liberal Party

We challenged the leadership with attempting to compete for votes on the same grounds as the Liberals — to all effects and purposes making the NDP indistinguishable from the Liberals, with failing to present the NDP as a serious alternative to the Big Business Liberal and Tory Parties. We denounced the idea that the labor vote is pretty well in the bag, the concept that "what is necessary is to not only cleanse the party of any hint of socialism but to modify and soft pedal even those planks where the NDP is in any way different from the Liberals — to make the NDF appear as like the Liberal party as possible and in this way ease the shift of dissident Liberals over to the NDP."

We declared that such a policy would not work. We called for a shake-up and the organization of the left on a national scale to prevent what we saw developing on the provincial plane flowing onto the federal plane — a resurgence of the Liberals to which this election is witness.

Programmatically, in its leaflets and its official statements the NDP had almost nothing to say to the electorate. Even in *(it's leader)* T.C. Douglas's major speeches, which came closest to posing a new path, beneath the glib phrases and pat formulas there was little content.

Even at best, when Douglas talked in terms of guaranteeing full employment, what program did he present that could make this appear other than empty demagogy? Some NDP candidates even publicly disassociated themselves from this demand and nowhere was there presented any policy of public ownership to realize full employment.

Instead of roundly denouncing red baiting when it was directed by the Liberals against the Tories for trading with Cuba and China, and by the Tories against Pearson, the NDP leadership joined in full cry, making themselves a laughing stock and an opponent of civil rights with their threats of legal action against the Communist Party.

The leadership undercut one of the party's few positions of differentiation — opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces — with its voluble statements of adherence to the NATO alliance. In fact no party appeared more committed to the policies of Western imperialism than the NDP.

Having linked up this labor party to the U.S. Democrats with the adoption of the name New Democrats, the leadership made a further identification with President Kennedy for his conflict with the medical hierarchy. This linkage with Kennedy-of-the-Cuban-invasion took place while he is more clearly identified with nuclear testing, a wage freeze, and inaction on integration.

The NDP leadership so tried to out-Liberal the Liberals that they seized upon and reproduced with party funds in the mass circulation dailies a column by Pierre Berton of the *Toronto Daily Star*. The column ridiculed them for "desperately trying to pretend that the NDP really isn't radical, unorthodox, daring, imaginative or in any sense un-Canadian," but they rushed into print with it because it ended up supporting the NDP, not for governmental office but as a "needle and wheedle" of the capitalist parties.

This federal election constitutes a real test of the leadership and the policies adopted at the founding convention. This test has found both wanting.

It is now necessary to launch a full discussion from the constituency level of the party, through the unions, right on up to the highest level. The coming provincial conventions must be wide open forums for full discussion and correction of the situation.

Nothing must be allowed to prevent such actions. The future of the NDP depends upon it.

=====box=====

LIBERAL-TORY GANG-UP DEFEATED DOUGLAS

The 29% of the poll cast for NDP leader Douglas would have and did elect scores of candidates running elsewhere to the (House of) Commons. But it wasn't sufficient in Regina, for the all-out drive to keep Douglas out of the house increased the total poll by almost 9% over the 1957 vote and the drive of both Liberal and Social Credit machines to line their supporters up behind the Tory candidate more than doubled his vote.

While the Saskatchewan NDP vote dropped precipitously to place it third in 17 ridings, there was an even more drastic shift of Social Credit voters behind the Tories along with a considerable Liberal vote. Renegade NDP house leader Hazen Argue squeaked in as the sole Liberal spokesman in Saskatchewan with 2,000 votes less than he polled as a CCFer and only 2,000 more than the NDP candidate. The NDP vote held firmest in the urban areas of the province.

=====box =====

'COMMONWEALTH' **POINTS THE WAY**

Bouncing back from the body blow we received in Saskatchewan the editors of the *Prairie New Democrat Commonwealth* placed a full page ad in the June 27 issue.

They ask how is it possible that the NDP in the province was not more successful? How is it possible that T. C. Douglas could be defeated? And reply:

"The answer is simple. We have failed to explain to the general public the social and political issues involved. A public which properly understood the principles and aims of New Democracy would not turn away from it."

Yes, the party, the leadership, has failed the Canadian working people. It's high time to get to work and formulate a series of principles and aims that clearly demark the party as a labor party, as a party that has the answers on the issues confronting the workers and farmers.

===box=====

The Workers Vanguard #76 - July 1962

Ont. Drivers Solid But Leaders Sag

BY A. ADAIR

The 10,000 man Ontario-Quebec teamster strike, now entering its fifth week in Ontario and tenth in Quebec remains solid. Most transport companies have not even tried to move their freight; industries are beginning to run short of raw materials; boxcars are taking anywhere up to three weeks to come from New York city to Toronto; lay-offs have started in some industrial areas.

The Automotive Transport Association which represents the 60 odd strike bound companies has refused to raise their present proposal—24½ cents spread over 44 months. At one point in their attempts to break the strike they gave the union an ultimatum—either accept the 24½ cents within a week or drop to their original proposition—15 cents. This effort to intimidate the strikers only made them hotter than ever

(see Page 2—ONTARIO)

A Major Speech

FIDEL CASTRO

DENOUNCES

BUREAUCRACY

AND SECTARIANISM

35 cents

89 Queen St. W., Toronto

Ontario Teamsters' Strike-Front Solid

Continued from Page 1

and more determined to win their demands.

At a policy meeting held by the Toronto based Local 938 in the Palace Pier June 5th, the membership squashed most of the eleven conciliatory proposals submitted by the executive. They instructed the leadership to fight instead for a two year contract, a 40 hour week and $2.50 an hour with full back pay.

Several times when 938 President Ken McDougall said such demands had never been won all at once, militants yelled "then let's make history". At this meeting attended by over 1,000 members, militants organized as F. W.D. (short for Forward With Democracy) played a key role in voicing the feelings of the majority of those present.

After the meeting President McDougall decided to completely ignore the expressed wishes of the membership and violated every concept of democracy by stating that the five local committee (five local unions are negotiating together) will decide on the settlement terms.

Although they have no authorization from the ranks, the leadership of all five locals have gone ahead and signed seperate contracts with a number of small companies for a 30 cent package deal spread over three years.

The leadership's policy is to pressure the smaller barns back on the job. For almost six hours they threatened, intimidated, insulted, and pressured the handful of Gill Transport workers before they finally had them back to work. The previous day these very same workers rejected thirteen to two an identical contract and voted to stay out on strike with the rest of the men.

Although during the first few days of the strike vice-president John Kennedy termed these contracts "nothing better than licenses to scab", he has now joined the rest of the brass in accepting such contracts.

McDougall has dissolved the representative strike committee elected by the men by not calling meetings. The strike bulletin, so important in letting the men know what's happening and in combatting the gossip and threats by company stooges and the daily press, has not come out since the second week of the strike. Just as bad as the local leadership, who do nothing but spread doubts and confusion in the situation, is the international representative, supposedly brought in to help win the strike. His only advise to a membership meeting was "the days of the big wage increases have gone, and the membership should take a long look at 30 cents over three years". Such is the role of the International.

Adding humor to the picture are the comments by Chaplain James Keys, president of Transport for Christ, Inc.—an organization of eight ordained ministers regarded by themselves and the bosses as "spiritual advisers to the trucking industry". According to this company stooge "decent truck drivers" should band together and break the strike. He blames FWD for keeping the strike going and claims "while FWD boys say they're not communists others have other thoughts". Many teamsters learned from this which side of the fence the "highway evangelists" are on.

Despite company efforts to starve the workers into submission on the one hand ,and the false policy of the leadership on the other, the strikers remain firm. Rank and file squads are being organized to meet company attempts to unload their depots. The very sight of 40 or 50 strikers waiting outside the premises is usually enough to make any potential scab throw in the towel. The morale of the strikers remains high. They have already shown their fighting capacity and are fully conscious of the demagogy and strike breaking tactics of the company. If they recognize the phony policies of the union leadership only half as well, victory is in their hands.

The Workers Vanguard #76 - Jul 1962

On Their Way Through Northern Ontario

REPORT FROM TRAVELLING SOCIALISTS

The four Trailblazers who left Toronto more than a month ago to promote the circulation and influence of socialist ideas through the **Vanguard** are now heading north towards Timmins. So far they have been in Sault Ste Marie, Sudbury, North Bay, Kirkland Lake, and Noranda, Quebec. Following are excerpts from letters written us about some of their more interesting experiences and observations.

Sudbury: Sudbury proved to be much tougher than we expected. The lines have been drawn hard between Mine Mill and Steel. The community has just gone through an orgy of red-baiting and campaigning by Steel and a counter campaign by Mine Mill—both of which have cost a lot of money. People are suspicious of anyone coming to the door with political literature and there is a general reluctance to discuss. People don't want to become involved. Mine Mill supporters accused us of being pro-Steel, and Steel charged us as being agents of Mine Mill.

The Communist Party here is openly backing the Liberal candidate, Mitchell. "Defeat Gillis (candidate for the Tories) at all costs" is their slogan.

Soo: With this letter you will also get a package of subscriptions we have picked up since leaving Toronto. You'll notice a high number of renewals. We are selling more of the literature on Cuba than anything else. It's surprising how little informed even the radicals are about this once you get outside of Toronto. A lot of the old baloney about Cuba has sunk in.

North Bay: The news report in the **Globe and Mail** about Trotskyists disturbing an NDP meeting is just so much bull, although it does reflect the fear that people have of being dubbed "Communists". What happened was that we noticed the ad for the meeting in the local paper and two of the fellows decided to give out the **Vanguard** at it. About six people showed up, but Kowalchuk, the candidate, bombastically tried to remove our fellows. Nick stood his ground and much to Kowalchuk's chagrin the cop upheld his right to give out the paper. Later, when there was no meeting, and not knowing of this earlier incident, two of us dropped into the meeting hall .About four of them were just sitting around shooting the breeze. Well, I met the most ignorant red-baiting you could imagine. It got so bad that one old CCFer, in since 1935 he said, intervened and defended us in an embarassed fashion. After about 20 minutes we broke up and went for coffee—no one was thrown out as the press reported.

Noranda: Since we just got into Noranda the day before the election, we didn't get much chance to see the NDP campaign here. Some of the activists were disappointed that a school teacher was the candidate in a riding as solidly working class as this one. Many felt a union man would've done much better. Apparently the NDP is hardly organized in Quebec as a whole.

Social Credit have really moved in here in a big way, though their victory has an ephemeral quality about it .Many people have been confused by their demagogy. From talking to people up here one feels that it was due more to the default of the NDP than anything else, and if the NDP had had a dynamic campaign, the outcome might have been otherwise.

Here in Noranda the police stopped Bill and I from going door to door, informing us that we need a license, but that occasionally the town secretary permits the law to be by-passed and that we should see him. But the secretary had his answer all ready, as expected: "The law is the law". A $200.00 license is needed for a non-resident to sell anything!

(To the Vanguard tour)

August 21 1962

Dear Ernie

Dick Fiddler who is laid off from his job is going to drive a bus out to Regina. From there he will go to Calgary where he will meet you on Thursay August the 30th at 8.01pm sharp. If delayed he will meet you the next night Friday august 31st at 802 sharp. Thats pm. The meeting place will be the bus terminal. Dick will be able to stay with the tour for about 2 weeks. Since Bill has to come back I suggest that you make the switch at Calgary. Dick is not to do any work that involves meeting NDPers. Sub work and Cp work should be alright.

The rough outline of your xxxxxxx scheduale sounds good. Don t forget to let us know the mailing points. The subs are really xxxxxxx flowing in here at a great rate. We will have to ge more people for the next mailing. Ross has been in Paris for the last 10 days and will be returning to England shortly. The first page of the latest Labor x Review should give you an idea of the xxxxxxxxxx hard position that the British take.

Here we ha ve recruited another teamster and last week the poets took over at 81 Queen with Joe and Milton speaking proceeds to the Save the Poets from Jail Committee. A few of the customers in the store were startled by a roar of I SHOUT LOVE from the xxxx back as Milt gave it the works.

This week is austerity and Canadian Labor by Allen. Next me on the Hoy articles. When you visit Port Alberni on the island stop in and visit Ken and Gertie Raison. He starts teaching school there this September . They and there6 month old son just left here a few days ago to drive out. Got work to do. Hope the meeting time for Dick is alright.

(Hoy = Cuban C.P. journal - ed.)

(R.D. note)

The Workers Vanguard #77

Militants Draw Conclusions As Teamster Strike Ended

We are reproducing here an article that was first published by a militant group of Teamsters in the Toronto based Local 938, organized as F.W.D. (short for Forward With Democracy — Four Wheel Drive).

After a solid, militant, six week long strike, 8,500 Ontario Teamsters returned to work with a wage increase of 26½ cents spread over four years, plus $80 back pay. This compares with the company offer of 24½ cents over 44 months, plus $60 retroactive pay, turned down by the membership before the strike began. Why, in a strike so strong, did the membership get so little? The answer is of importance not only to trade unionists, but to all concerned with the struggles of labor .

★ ★ ★

Are the bosses correct when they tell us that "strikes are a waste of time"? After we walked the picket lines for six weeks, lost hundreds of dollars in wages, yet end up back on the job with next to nothing to show for it, it certainly looks that way doesn't it?

We could have got the present contract **without** a strike; all we had to do was sign the conciliation report.

What happened? What went wrong? How can we explain such a fiasco?

Leadership Against Us

From the day the picket lines were set up President McDougall and the rest of the executive did everything they could to get us back to work. At the Columbus Hall meeting they put all their cards on the table. There they finally broke the strike. Not just McDougall or Vice-President Kennedy but everyone on the executive. They all stood up and ordered us back on the job. For close to three hours they layed the law down. They declared that from here-on-in strike pay was cut off, the strike was now illegal and anyone who continued to picket would face charges. We demanded time and time again that the executive take a new vote, but they refused .They stood like a brick wall against us. McDougall argued the previous vote (the secret ballot one) was binding, despite the fact that only 1,100 or so of the 2,500 members who attended the meeting where the vote was taken cast ballots.

When the vote was made known hardly anybody believed it. Certainly the 2,000 of us gathered at Columbus Hall didn't. We made our position crystal-clear — we didn't want any part of the present contract. When a second vote was taken, this time a stand up vote, and over McDougall's head, we stood up **almost to a man** to turn down the present contract.

Not one member of the negotiating committee got on his feet to protest this dirty deal. Not one business agent raised his voice in protest. All the official leaders of the local lined up solid behind McDougall and his strike-breaking actions!

$5. Off $15.

Can anyone think of a quicker way to kill a strike than to take $5.00 union dues off $15.00 strike pay? We can't. But that's exactly what the leadership did. Landlords, banks, mortgage and finance companies all had to wait for their money; but not Hoffa and the labor fakers at Trinity St. They demanded cash on the nose.

The 54-man strike committee, composed mainly of rank and filers was struck off supposedly to run the strike, see that it was organized, work out strategy. It was suppressed. It met once. The executive moved in and replaced it.

The strike bulletin ended up the same way—suppressed. With half a dozen office workers, the best that money can buy in the way of typewriters, mimeograph machines, lots of workers to distribute it, McDougall, Kennedy and company saw fit to publish this bulletin **only twice in six weeks!**

Kennedy told us by signing separate contracts "the ranks of the ATA (Automotive Transport Assoociation) would be split," and that it would be easier to sign up the bigger barns—and for more money. Kennedy scoffed at the idea that interim agreements were nothing better than licenses to scab. Everything would be fine he replied. Well, did it "split the ATA" brothers? Did the bigger barns end up with more money?

Membership Ignored

The membership defeated most of the 11 proposals brought down by the executive, then democratically decided what the negotiating committee should negotiate for—a two-year contract, 40 hours a week, $2.50 an hour, etc. McDougall promptly turned around to the press and declared, in effect, that the demands of the membership don't mean a thing. The leadership of the 5 locals was deciding everything. That's their idea of democracy. Call a meeting, let the ranks decide a course of action, then go your own sweet way!

The leadership decided everything. They overrode all opposition. They ignored all warnings of danger, and they had lots of warnings. In fact FWD put them down in print. FWD also put forward a concrete policy—a policy that would have guaranteed us a victory. The 10 proposals listed in the June 25 issue of FWD, had they been carried out, would have brought the ATA down on their knees, and forced them to come across with a big wage increase and improved working conditions. Had they been carried out we would have gone back with a **victory** under our belts, that's for sure. But the leadership didn't carry them out. Violating every concept of democracy they rammed their policies down our throats. Everything they did was designed to get us back on the job—regardless of the terms. They insisted that every important vote be by secret ballot and that the ballots of all 5 locals be pooled—a device whereby no one local could tell just how it voted. Joint negotiations were not used to negotiate with the companies from a position of strength but as a club over our heads. This gimmick prevented any individual local from deciding its own fate, if necessary. Everything the leadership said must be done, was done. **The defeat of the strike rests squarely on the shoulders of the union leadership—particularly the leadership of local 938, the key local.**

It must be obvious to everybody that McDougall, Kennedy and the rest of the "yes" men on the payroll cannot win a struggle like the one we just came through. Our future under them can only lead to further and deeper defeats.

Role of International

It's true McDougall did have a little help and it came from none other than James R. Hoffa, "the man that gets thing done." Hoffa, you recall, was for us Canadians getting the same wages as our U.S. brothers. That's one thing he **didn't** get done. But Hoffa was just as responsible as McDougall for taking the $5.00 union dues off our strike pay. That's one thing he **did** get done-in a hurry. His recent telegram confirming the original settlement vote supports McDougall all the way down the line. All told it wasn't a very in-

→p. 2

spiring action from south of the border, was it?

Ranks Showed How

Despite overwhelming odds the membership put up a tremendous battle. They showed what could be done. Anything positive that came out of the strike can be attributed to the rank and file or the secondary leadership — the stewards .The demonstrations outside London Forwarders and Commercial Cartage, the picket line shifts, the flying squads — these were not the work of the Kennedy's or the McDougall's or the business agents .These actions took place because rank and file militants moved in and grabbed hold of the situation. Unlike the leadership, the ranks showed all kinds of ingenuity and initiative— from making their own picket signs to meeting the bosses demagogic and sometimes crafty arguments. Let no one say the membership was weak! Let no one say they didn't fight! On the contrary, they were prepared to take whatever action was necessary to win the strike.

The repercussions of such a terrible settlement are already being felt. In a union busting spree Overland Express have started a campaign to pull their workers out of 938 in order to form a company union. Some rank and filers are talking about decertification and forming a new transport union. There is talk of joining Teamster's Local 419. Still others are for pulling out of 938 and forming an independent, Canadian union. These are not the answers to our problems brothers!

The strike was powerful—66 companies were paralysed. Over 18,000 trucks, tractors and trailers were idled. Freight piled up. The main reason it was so powerful was because we had numbers. There were 10,000 of us out between Ontario and Quebec, with half that number organized in 938. To split the local up would be disasterous and would only play into the hands of the ATA.

It wasn't because we lacked power that we were defeated but because we had a bankrupt leadership on our backs. That's the reason for the fiasco!

What We Can Do

We can do something about this. Startiing now we can begin to build a new leadership so that by the time the next elections come along (in 18 months) we will be prepared and ready to move into action. FWD started the process. Now it has to be built stronger—it has to grow, has to put some flesh on its bones.

In the next election we can sweep the present gang of labor fakers right out of office and elect a leadership that will not use the local as a means to keep the rank and file in line, but will turn it into the fighting instrument it was organized for — make it a weapon to defend and extend the workers interests. Such a leadership would make democracy the norm, not the exception. It would immediately launch a massive campaign to organize the thousands of unorganized transport workers in the province. It would build a strong stewards body— the backbone of any good union. It would tie our ranks in with the rest of the Canadian labor movement, organized in the C.L.C. It would support the New Democratic Party, the only political party that reflects the interests of the trade unionists and the working farmer.

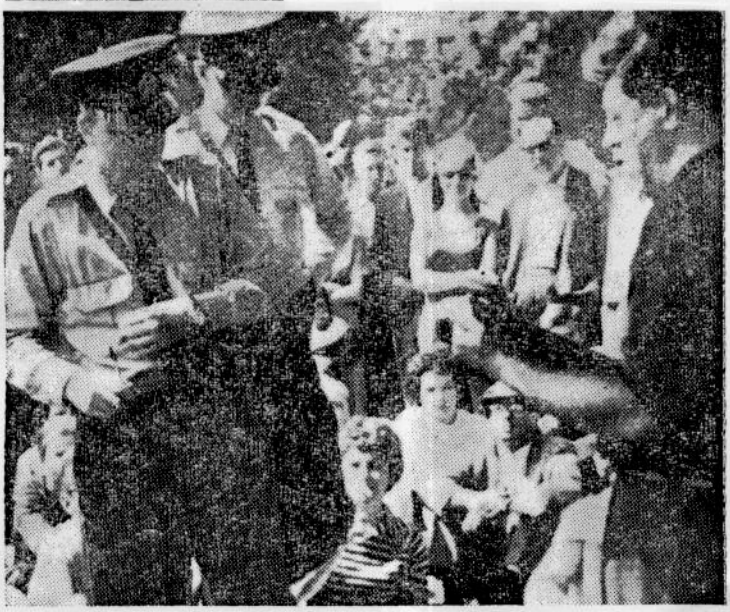
That is what FWD means by a new and militant leadership. With your participation we can build such a leadership. There's no better time to start than now. Join us!

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION
Welcomes YOU to attend

in Vancouver
A STUDY CLASS
Every Wednesday Night
875 East Hastings.

in Toronto
A FORUM
Every Friday Night
81 Queen Street West.

The Workers Vanguard #77 - Aug. 1962



TORONTO POETS FIGHT SPEECH LIMITING LAW

While religious speakers, often aided by choirs and brass bands, continue preaching in Toronto parks, police are summonsing to court any poet daring to read aloud.

Several members of a group called Inter-Poet are now due to appear before the judge for violating a city by-law that compels all non-religious speakers to first obtain a license.

The by-law became the center of a major political issue on July 15 when police stopped the poets from reading in Allan Gardens because they had no license.

But when Milton Acorn, leading spokesman for the group, tried to obtain one, he found they were not being issued. Still determined to introduce poetry to the average working person and to remove the coffee house stigma now attached to it, they decided, law or no law, to continue holding meetings.

The police subsequently brought public ridicule on themselves and on the by-law by deciding to uphold it and to summons the poets.

A few days later the Board of Control, aided by Mayor Phillips, endorsed the police action by voting down a motion to grant speaking privileges in Allan Gardens. Controller Orliffe, speaking against the motion, warned that the poets main concern was to assert a right to unrestricted freedom of speech and assembly. If Council decided to grant the right to speak in the Gardens, he asked, "Where are you going to stop?"

This summarizes the thinking and fears of thousands of Liberal and Tory mayors and controllers in municipalities across Canada who uphold similar discriminatory and undemocratic legislation.

Why should city hall bureaucrats be vested with the power to license what others may or may not say in a public park? Why should poets, political and other kinds of speakers not have the freedoms enjoyed by religious speakers? The decision of Inter-Poets to defy this law and if possible to have it branded as unconstitutional deserves the active support of all who want to firmly establish the right of free speech for all.

SOVIET POETS DEFIANT

A leading spokesman of an increasingly rebellious Soviet youth, Yevgeny Yevtushenko's highly critical works are winning an increasingly wider audience despite attempts of Soviet officials to quiet him. Yevtushenko's poem "Babayar," interpreted as a direct attack on anti-Semitism in the USSR, caused a storm of official protest. "Honey" assails the privileged bureaucrats that run the country. In other poems he lashes out against restrictions on free speech. In the following poem, called "You Can Consider Me a Communist" he proves he is no advocate of capitalism, but would like to see drastic changes in the USSR.

There were traitors both open and secret,
And indifferent like a stone,
Who signing various resolutions in the name of the revolution,
Were actually trampling on that glorious revolution.
A foul malicious game,
And helping them in their deeds was a historical figure called

Just got a CLIFF O. thinks written by Gerry Healy published

Sept.19 1962

Dear Ross;

I will take up the points as you make them in your letter first.

We are not doing anything with regard to Merchants Press. Yes the set up with regard to FWD is very formal and is dangerous as you suggest. Last night at the PC meeting I suggested to Alan that it seemed to me that they were setting up FWD using the party as a model. Alan has read your letter and I will talk to him and we will make the necessary changes.

With regard to the Fair Play business I opposed the notion in the branch. It would have passed atomaitcally if I hadn't. During the discussion I was able to convince a number of comrades of its incorrectness. But Pat M, Vern and a few others were strong for it and it was carried by a small margin. After the meeting I carried on the discussion with Pat M and partly convinced her. Then I let the question drop because the banquet wasn't pressing.

To-day Anne O came in the store and I had a talk with her and told her to raise it with Vern. Anne agrees with me. After I talk with Vern and Pat I think that any steps we need to take will be just formalities.

The PC nominated Nick for the Trotsky school last night. I wrote a letter to Reg Bullock asking for nominations as quickly as they could do it. I donat have the letter here but the date is August 29 or earlier. We received no reply. We asked Ernie's opinion of Nick and received areport from him which, while containing some criticisms(such as his punctuality) contained an evaluation of him (again I dont have the exact cucte) as a sincere dedicated revolutionary with the perspective of years of dedicated service. That was good enough for me and apparently the others. The vote was unanimous.

The Protz article we will be playing this issue xxii Cliff just took it over th the print shop. The forums are going along fairly well about the same as when you were here. No we didn't set Joe's first article, I could see that it was going to be dated by the time we got around to using it. Go easy on the copy will you? We would like to have enough room to wedge in a small Canadian article here or there. I know its achance of a life time and I find the articles excellant but the way this issue is going it looks like we are going to have to put in an insert. I opposed this at the editorial board meeting but with Joe's article, your big slabx of copy and Castro's speech on the agrarian question which Vern is busy translating, it looks like insert. Read over the first part of the Castre speech quite long very basic and very good. Annx send the first part down to the Militant.

The way itx looks now even with considereble cuts it will take a big slabx of space. The British "experts" on Cuba's agrarianx reform will choke on this speech. I'll bet the Militant gives it a big play and saves the type for a pamphlet.

The tour is in Van. They had trouble with the truck at Calgary and so had to make a straight run to Van. In Edmonton they met a professor who was in the SLL in Britain and I gather is a friend of MacIntyre. I wrote Healy asking him for a report on him. That should be interesting. According to what I hear from Dick who was out west and worked a few days with the tour iwe took all the xxx precautions and he outsold the others) this fellow is going from U of A to Princeton were MacIntyre is or will be. Ernie has a good impression of him and wants to send him internal stuff which we won't do now of course. Ask Healy what his name is and about him.

Also we never got the book order that I ordered in June from them so I reminded him of this and suggested that you could pick us out an order(they xx may have some things that we don't know about)

We are out of Revol. Betrayed 2nd vol of CI documents and of course have no xxxmx Per Revol get 50 if you can for astarter.

Just got a bundle of 25 "Afro Asian Reviews" published by the Ceylon Socialist Students association in Britain. P.N. xxxxx Perera 64 Belsize Park London N.W.3.

The enclosed report was the result of a visit of Al Engler and Jean to Montreal. The YSA sent him down and unfortunately he openly presented himself as a Trotskyist apparently with the Y SA's agreement. A bad mistake. I have't even read it through yet myself so won't say any more on it.

Tonight we are calling for nominations for branch posts. We are by passing holding a branch conference for the time being as we have the youth convention this week end and the adult convention Oct 6 plus paper etc etc.

I am trying to remember what else we decided at the P.C. Yes we sent a letter acknowledging receipt of McGarvies letter and informing him that he will have the right of appeal to the convention as our constitution states. A copy also to the branch org. Have xx I heard nothing from Van. Ernest is playing it cool but he has only arrived there and of course can't tell us anything yet. xxxx I asked him to get the facts onthe truck conditionwise and what we could sell it for if when we get all the details and consider all the possibilities we decide to sell it. Somewhere in the Van minutes I saw a motion to the effect that they have decided to "Freeze" everything till you get back on the memberships. What foos theyare no wonder Bill can do a job on them so easily. What with the xxxxx convention coming up in a few months I'm not for unfreezing anything at this time. Besides who's got the time to wad through all that shit that goes by the name of politics on this question out there?

The only way we are going to get anywhere out there is to recruit new people and smash up that little sectarian clique that dominates the branch and will prevent any real growth or at least seriously hamper it's growth. Two or three able and energetic people could do more out there for our paper and movement than the whole gang of them have ever done.

Angus MacPhee dropped in for a few hours before returning to Van. He was at a conference of Pulp Sulphite in Detroit or I first should say that was were he wanted to go but they wouldn't let him across the border so he spent the time in Windsor and couldn't even tell me what took place at the conference. Being in the store did n't get much chance to talk to him. We recruited Bob Raphael to the branch a very good guy. John Glen got his Cuba article published in the Commonwealth and they are going to publish the second one on education in this next issue. I'll order a bundle. John Riddel is back. Cliff showed him the Helsinki article which he thinks is good. Again haven't had a chance to talk to him. This being in the store certainly ties you up. Bill L is going to York U and learned a lot on the tour. John D is out in Van. Don't know whether he is going to stay xxxxxx there or come here. Bill bet he doesn't either. We had a successful picnic over on the island at Milt's place and on the beach. 3 guitar players I invited in the store came over with their guitars. Ken listened to them all night. Had a very successful joint picket at the US consul on Cuba. About a 50-50 participation 175 turned out. Very good speech by Vern full Stalinist co operation. Good show as the British say. Pacific Trib reports a BC Cuba picket at US Consulate only 70 turned out. Thats all for now.

Winnipeg NDP Candidate Says

It's Time for the Left to Stand Up

By Ernest Tate

"This is a time when the left-wing has to be on its feet . . . it has to be vocal. When the provincial conventions are called we must be prepared . . . we must rejuvinate the NDP clubs; awake them from their apathy . . . with an educational program to direct the rank and file protest about the lack of leadership."

The speaker was Andy Robertson, NDP candidate in the last federal election and well known socialist in the Winnipeg area, participating in a discussion at Osborn Hall.

The meeting was called to discuss the recent elections and the perspective for the NDP in light of the set-back. Other participants were Howard Pawley, one time president of the Manitoba CCF, and Ernest Tate from Toronto, one of the four **Vanguard** touring socialists.

Robertson stated that never before have the socialists in the movement had a better opportunity to take the initiative. The result of Diefenbaker's austerity program "is going to be hell for the workers." It is essential, he went on, criticizing the leadership's acquiesence and acceptance of the Tory austerity measures, that the party "come forward with a clear-cut alternative."

"We must get away from this idea," he said, "of trade-union leaders that in order to get elected you must have a machine, with no regard for program or philosophy."

Robertson demonstrated with the use of recent Gallop Poll figures how the leadership had failed in their whole electoral strategy. Of the trade union vote, he said, 69% went to the Tories and Liberals, 17% went to the NDP and 14% was taken by Social-Credit.

"Somewhere along the line we had failed to strike the proper note." Recently, he related, he had taken out the old election speeches of Diefenbaker, Pearson and Tommy Douglas. "With the heat of the election gone," he said, "when you look at the cold, black type, without the oratorical wizardry, the eye is driven to see a lot of mention of planning in a lot of provinces, by a lot of people, everyone, even the Liberals and Tories were talking about it . . . but there was nothing specific about how it was going to be done."

"There was the use by Douglas many times during the campaign of the fable about the cream separators where he stated that all that was necessary was to turn the screw that skims the cream a little bit more and get more cream . . . well, I ask you, if we can turn the screw a little why not turn it the full way . . . why can't we own the seperator . . . I've yet to see how we can talk about planning with something we don't own. Have you ever tried to plan something on a piece of property that wasn't yours? You need permission and if you can't get it, you can't do it."

"The appeal was broadened, watered down until we were appealing to no one," Mr. Robertson criticized in his concluding remarks. "And the basic thing facing us . . . that rubs into the consciousness is that in quite a few places we can quite easily lose what we have. If the Tories or Liberals run the right candidate in Winnipeg North, a small shift in the vote can lose us the riding."

Ernest Tate, representing the viewpoint of the League for Socialist Action, welcomed the opportunity to discuss the election results. He said it was essential for the socalists to get together to make a common evaluation. From his experience in travelling across country and meeting many people in the party, he was of the opinion that there was a lot of talk on an individual basis.

"There has been no organized discussion," he said, "and the leadership is deliberately misleading the party's members and supporters to the election result's real significance . . . there is a lot of confusion . . . a lot of demoralization."

"The same policy is being pursued now as was pursued by the CCF, and with the same results . . . the more innocuous its platform, the more it retreated from socialism and basic principles, the more it lost support until all that remained was a shell."

He charged that the leadership is trying to cover up the real nature of the "debacle" with a misuse of statistics. Tate elaborated that the party in order to be effective must have a program to meet the needs of the workers. He said such a program has to be formulated and presented by the left. He stressed the importance of the party identifying itself with the workers and with the struggle for a shorter work-week. To meet Diefenbaker's austerity the NDP should call for nationalization of the basic industries and the extension of democracy into the factories. He said such a program should encompass the demand for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and no nuclear arms for Canada.

In the wide-ranging discussion both Robertson and Tate rejected any suggestion that perhaps it was an unfortunate thing for socialists that the trade unions, with their bureaucratic leadership and dictatorial practices had moved into the party. This had been expressed from the floor.

Robertson countered this. He stated that "we must work within the confines of the NDP and fight for more autonomy in the local unions from administrative control. There must be less intervention by the top leadership and by-passing of the local membership."

Tate reiterated Robertson on this point. "You can't even think of building a party which will transform this society if that party doesn't embrace the workers and their organized expressions, the trade unions. Can you name any other agency?" he asked the audience, "for social change? It's wrong to look upon the unions as monolithic entities. The trade union bureaucracy by no means has an easy future. Can it solve the problems confronting the workers?"

He stated that the brass would be incapable of leading the fight for better conditions and that an alternate leadership would be thrown up. Tate pointed out that there were already indications of this across the country—in Hamilton Steel Local 1005, in the rebel Ontario Teamster locals, etc.

ERNEST TATE

Ernie Tate, one of four Vanguard trailblazers introducing socialist literature across the Prairies, speaks with NDPers in Winnipeg (see article).

The Workers Vanguard

#19-Oct 1962

B.C. NDY CALLS FOR "DECISIVE CHANGES"

By E. Tate

At its annual convention, recently concluded here in Vancouver, the British Columbia New Democratic Youth, in contrast to official party policy on the recent federal elections called, in a resolution, upon the adult movement to submit "its programme and its strategy to a thorough and searching discussion at all party levels to determine the cause of its failure at the polls." It also called for "The Party to institute decisive changes in its programme that shall win the support and confidence of the working people of Canada."

The convention demanded that "Canada terminate membership in all foreign military alliances and pacts" and "allow no foreign bases or troops on her soil nor overflights by foreign military aircraft over her territory." An amendment to this resolution which called for money saved by such measure to go to an international police force, provoked debate. The amendment was carried.

Other resolutions passed by the delegates advocated the sex education and the teaching of methods of contraception in the schools and another protested the BC government handling of the Freedomite Doukhobors.

The delegates convened under witch-hunt pressure and rumours of expulsions and purges. The central fight in the convention was a defensive action by the left-wing against the leadership around two proposed amendments to the constitutions.

One amendment demanded that "the first renewal of membership shall be treated as a new application." "A screening clause," as Chris Trower, one of its supporters unashamedly admitted. Many delegates charged that this policy of holding a new member suspect aside from being undemocratic would inhibit the growth of the movement. Ben Clifford of the North Shore Club, expressed widespread sentiment when he stated that, "I joined this party to try to achieve a classless society and now I find you are bringing classes into it—the institution of first and second-class memberships."

After five standing votes the amendment was defeated by a slim margin.

Another amendment, which carried, took the disciplinary powers out of the club executives hands and placed it in the hands of the provincial executive.

At one point in the convention, during a division, Bill Piket, federal secretary of the NDY, was admonished by the chairman for openly demonstrating his partisanship in favor of the amendments and disrupting the convention.

The atmosphere of the convention was correctly anticipated by the outgoing provincial President, Harold Steeves in his opening remarks to the delegates Saturday morning. He charged that many of the delegates were brought to the convention to vote a particular way without knowing what the issues were. He stated that "the movement has not grown because of splits . . . Those who started the witch-hunting and splitting, who accuse people of being Trotskyists—are not acting in the best interests of the movement."

The Workers' Vanguard

Vol. 7 (No. 7) (79) October, 1962 23 Toronto—Price 10 cents

"Unite to Build NDY" Is Lefts Answer When Right Would Split Ont. Convention

Hamilton, September 24: The First Annual Convention of the Ontario New Democratic Youth, which took place in the TWUA hall here the weekend of Sept. 22-23 saw a sharp polarization develop among delegates right from the opening session of the assembly.

President Hugh Peacock's report, introduced as a resolution on Saturday morning, centred a slanderous attack on two members of the outgoing executive, Toni Foster and Al Engler, formerly vice-president and eastern regional vice-president respectively.

The report alleged that these executive members had supported two membership applications in violation of the constitution, which bars "members or supporters" of other political parties, and had adopted a policy of voting to accept such applications. It stated "This conflict of purpose and association must be resolved by this convention. We cannot go through these sessions with a prospect of a continuation of the current division."

The minority report, submitted by John Wilson of the West Toronto NDY and Betti Spence of the Hamilton NDY, attacked the "central concept" of the report as "very dangerous to our [the NDY's] continued growth and development . . . factional [and] divisive in character." It went on to state: "This concept is that members . . . with political or organizational differences cannot work together to promote the common aims of the movement, and that . . . any minority characterized as having fundamental differences with the majority should not be represented on the leading body of the provincial movement. This would mean the end of effective democracy in the NDY."

Main spokesman for the defense, Al Engler, stated in self defense that his and Foster's position on the two memberships in dispute were based on lack of evidence against the two applicants and nothing else. He exposed the president's report as an attempt to muddy over the executive majority's sorry record of action in the past year. Not one majority speaker denied his charges.

Engler concluded by declaring that the minority was for unity and that the majority were factionalists.

Unbridled red-baiting characterized the "debate" that followed. Hamilton delegate Barbara Begin felt so intimidated that she asked "If I state my intention to vote for the minority, does that mean I'm a Trotskyist?"

(See Page 4—INTERNAL)

Internal Democracy Issue for Ontario NDY

(Continued from Page 1)

Acting secretary Peirson cynically replied, "I'm not calling anyone a Trotskyite. That is up to the convention."

On a roll-call vote the majority report steamrollered through 72-34. The minority while disappointed were hardly surprised, since the convention was stacked from top to bottom. Out of a membership modestly grown to 371, there were 109 delegates at the finish, only a small minority of which represented chartered clubs.

On Sunday morning the minority, announcing itself as a left-wing caucus for the convention, issued a mimeographed statement calling for unity, proclaiming their intentions to abide by majority decisions, but refusing to suppress their socialist views, and concluding "We will work for the construction of a mass New Democratic Youth movement. . . ."

Perhaps some of the majority supporters finally realized how far they had gone and relented, just a little. In the latter part of the Sunday session a number of key left wing resolutions reached the floor.

The resolutions committee itself moved concurrence with the most important programmatic resolution passed by the delegates, which came from delegate Foster's East Toronto club, and which demanded "nationalization of key industries with the power to undermine the economic plan, and nationalization of all private industries which do not co-operate with the plan." It also called for implementation of a 40 hr. work week with $1.25 minimum wage; equal pay for equal work for women; workers' committees with the right to open the company books; substantial reduction of the military establishment with application of the vast funds salvaged to solve the balance-of-payments problem.

A resolution demanding that the senior party withdraw from NATO, as it is now in fact nuclear-armed was defeated by only 9 votes with several majority delegates abstaining — although they had previously supported NATO.

Factionalism was rigidly adhered to in the elections, where not one minority delegate was elected to the executive (10 positions), provincial council (7 delegates), or to the provincial party convention (15 delegates).

Much has been said about the negative side of the convention, and that side contains profound dangers for the NDY, but the positive features cannot be overlooked either. The remarkable solidarity and determination of the socialist wing augers well for the movement. Despite the most violent factionalism, important programmatic and organizational resolutions, including an educational program (the only constructive part of the president's report) were passed.

The Workers Vanguard #79-Oct. 1962

Vanguard *Trailblazers Report*

SOCIALISTS ACTIVE ON PRAIRIES

By ERNEST TATE

Vancouver—Arrived here after travelling straight from Calgary. We ran into mechanical trouble with the truck and were forced to come directly through without a stop to Vancouver. We had been looking forward to seeing our many friends across the interior; we hope they will forgive us for by-passing them this time.

After leaving Winnipeg we headed straight to Regina, with a minor stop-over in Brandon. Saskatchewan proved to be the most interesting province on the trip to date. We arrived immediately after the signing of the Saskatoon agreement between the doctors and the NDP government, ending the twenty-three day doctors' boycott.

There was a high level of political consciousness and it was no accident that Regina was one of our best areas for door-to-door subscription work — we sold over 140 subs to the **Vanguard** in the few days we were there.

From our own personal "gallop-poll", conducted among the hundreds of people we met, it was obvious that confusion was still rampant in the minds of the people, deliberately sown there by Liberal leader Thatcher and the opposition.

But the rank and file of the NDP have entered the fray and despite severe handicaps — in the form of concessions by Lloyd to the doctors in order to end the boycott — have saved the situation from being a possible rout of the government. It was a definite retreat. As one MLA informed us, they were afraid of a nurses' strike which may have brought down the government.

We found that in all the major communities we were in, from Regina to Lloydminster, the revitalizing factor is the community clinics. These are organized on a co-op basis in order to provide a means whereby doctors can work directly under the Medicare act and by-pass the private insurance plans.

From talking to some of the people who are participating in the community clinics formation, our impression is that they are a genuine mass movement. In Saskatoon we were told that huge membership meetings had been held.

It is interesting to note that the people who have been spearheading the drive for the community clinics are people who have been also in the forefront of the struggles within the CCF and now the NDP for a policy of public ownership and withdrawal from NATO.

We met many people and renewed many acquaintances. Sale of literature on Cuba was high. We were also busy with our Cuba slides and projector—we held six house-meetings during our trip through the province.

When we got to Edmonton there we found what is known as the "Irvine-Woodsworth Fellowship," one of the most interesting formations in the NDP across the country.

Traditionally the leadership of the Alberta CCF rested in the hands of people who were in the left-wing of the party. William Irvine was its main spokesman. But at the founding convention of the provincial New Democratic Party last winter the old leadership was deposed and replaced by key figures in the union movement.

It is mainly the old CCF executive that constitutes the leadership of the Fellowship. Within the organization we discovered there are many differences of opinion and attitude to the NDP. Some reject the NDP completely and think that the trade-unions' aggressive entry into the party is regrettable and regressive. They only see the trade-union brass and fail to see the dynamic potential in such a move.

There are others in the fellowship who have a contrary opinion on this. We found that some of them feel that it is necessary to fight for a socialist perspective within the framework of the NDP.

At this stage the Fellowship sees the primary task before it as discussion and clarification of views and aims. It has held several meetings and several more are planned for the future.

Even though we disagreed with many members of the group on many questions, it was refreshing for us in the LSA to meet another socialist tendency which was dedicating itself to preserving the socialist philosophy.

We would like to express our warm thanks and appreciation to our friends across the prairies who extended themselves to make us welcome, who put their facilities at our disposal, and who many times inconvenienced themselves to make us at home.

Protest War Preparations Against Cuba. Some 200 demonstrators outside U.S. Consulate in Toronto respond to united call of Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Canada-Cuba Friendship Committee.

81 Queen St. W.,
Toronto 1, Ont.
Nov. 14, 1962.

Mr. Herbert Taylor,
Box 148,
Belle River, Ont.

Dear Mr. Taylor,

Thank you for your carefully written letter of Aug. 3 on the public-private school question. We regret that we could not publish it in the Vanguard because it was too long, and we felt that very little of it could be cut out without losing its meaning.

We agree with your stand that splitting education according to religious beliefs is poor for the children, the teacher, the standard of education, and the people as a whole. Under our capitalist system in which so little of the surplus value of the worker's finds its way to education, it is impossible to achieve high standards when the funds are split among dozens of different church and public schools. However, in a logical system--a socialist system where profits go, not to enrich corporations but to build schools, hospitals, housing, etc., then we will be able to have true brotherhood of men based on fair and democratic sharing of the material goods produced and thus full freedom of speech, religion, rights to work and rights to the necessities of life.

Sincerely yours,

81 Queen St. West,
Toronto 1, Ont.
Nov. 28, 1962.

The Editor,
The Toronto Telegram

Dear Sir,

On Tuesday evening I managed to make three of the meetings that you list in your paper as "Election Meetings where city and suburban candidates for municipal office will speak."

Only at one, held by the St. Pauls Conservative Association at the Park Plaza Hotel, was I provided an opportunity to speak. Officials at the other two meetings informed me that they were open to candidates by invitation only and I was not invited.

From the way these meetings are listed in your column, citizens would assume that they are open to all candidates for municipal office. They could only draw false conclusions as to the failure of certain candidates to appear there.

To keep the record straight I would think that your staff should enquire as to the character of the meetings in this respect before listing them as you are doing.

Sincerely,

Ross Dowson
Candidate for Mayor

The Workers Vanguard

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MASS BC RALLY CONDEMNS KENNEDY

By R. Bentley

Forming the largest meeting ever held on campus, five thousand University of British Columbia students crammed the Main Mall on Oct. 24 to hear five professors speak on Cuba and peace.

The meeting, called by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and the Student Christian Movement, was notable for more than its huge size. It signified a change from the traditional student political apathy. The direct threat of nuclear war and the outrageous action of the American government against Cuba brought nearly half the students to hear one of the group of usually non-committal professors say: "All of us felt that we had to be here today . . ."

Others continued in the same spirit of urgency and indignation "If we survive this crisis," said Dr. Norman Epstein, "we must realize that none of the governments of the world are to be trusted . . . are we prepared to leave our lives in the hands of people who will obey any order?"

"The extremity of the U.S. reaction to the missile build-up in Cuba is out of all proportion to the military significance," continued Prof. Robert Rowan of the Philosophy Dept. "There has been a growing hysteria over the actions of Cuba. It is hard to say how much pressure there is for action, but Kennedy is subject to it This action will be followed by other acts. It is evident the U.S., when the chips are down, are prepared to deal with situations with a frustrated military response . . ."

While the speakers were cheered for statements such as these, other students circulated leaflets advertising a Fair Play for Cuba meeting which were snatched up eagerly by many of those present. After the meeting little groups stood around the mall for hours, vigorously arguing the pros and cons of the crisis.

Dave Dellinger, leading U.S. pacifist, on Nov. 3 addressed the largest Fair Play for Cuba banquet ever held in Toronto. He supported Cuban demands that U.S. leave Guantanamo. Most of the 300 attending had a few days earlier demonstrated outside U.S. Consulate in Toronto against Kennedy's imperialist action against Cuba .In New York city, 10,000 rallied outside U.N. building to demand an end to the danger of war over Cuba. Demonstrations in sympathy with Cuba broke out across the world. In Ceylon, dockworkers countered Kennedy by boycotting U.S. ships.

DETER ANOTHER CRISIS! SUPPORT CUBA'S DEMANDS

By the Editorial Staff

Millions watched in suspense on Oct. 24 while U.S. gunboats squatted in the Caribbean waters, poised to blast from the sea any Soviet-bloc ship daring to defy Kennedy's quarantine, a blast that everyone feared could well spark the third world war.

Two weeks later the picture is one of sudden calm, of diplomats working out differences that are presented as, although perhaps complex, secondary since the missiles have been dismantled. But the abated storm can be expected to rise again unless the underlying pressures and tensions giving rise to it are removed.

It was Washington's openly declared aim to crush the revolution that compelled the Cubans to bring in missiles in the first place. But then to charge that Cuban missiles constitute a "threat to the security of North America"—even as part of some imagined Soviet attack—is ridiculous [even ludicrous considering the vast U.S. military build-up (called "deterrent power") not only in Florida but throughout the world]. This argument is only a cover. The real threat of Cuba is that it is the example inspiring Latin America's oppressed to overthrow their own ruling classes, long maintained in power by U.S. military and financial aid.

Cuba's acquisition of missiles was not one of moral "right" or moral "wrong," but considered by the government as necessary, necessary to defend the revolution and its achievements from what appeared to be imminent invasion by American imperialism, necessary to deter the mass slaughter that would undoubtedly accompany invasion. The Cuban government has amply demonstrated that it would prefer arms

(Continued on Page 3)

WORKERS VANGUARD EDITOR REPORTS HOW

BLP Convention Has Wide Impact

BRIGHTON, England—The British Labour Party's 61st annual conference is over. The some 1300 delegates representing thousands of constituency Labour Parties across England, Scotland and Wales, cooperative societies and the trade unions—there is scarcely a union and certainly none of any size that is not affiliated to the Labour Party—have returned to their homes and their places of work.

As distorted as it is, there is perhaps no more accurate barometer anywhere of any sector of the international working class movement than the convention of the British Labour Party—the organized political expression of one of he most massive, most strategically-situated and most class-conscious sections of the world working class. This was a pre-election convention. It is doubtful that there will be another before a general election which will in all probability see the party take office.

The conference opened with the declaration by Harold Wilson that the party is on the "threshhold of victory" . . . not seeking for an electoral victory based on a mere swing against the government. "This party is a moral crusade or it is nothing. That is why we have rejected timorous and defeatist proposals for a Liberal-Labor alliance. We are not going to sail into power under any flags of convenience. We seek the privilege of serving Britain as its government on one basis only—to seek a majority on a socialist mandate."

The conference closed with a rousing rendition of the "Red Flag" with the words:

The People's flag is deepest red,
It sheltered oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold,
Their hearts' blood dyed its every fold.

(Chorus)

Then raise the scarlet standard high,
Beneath its shade we'll live and die.
Tho' cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the red flag flying here!

Look 'round! The Frenchman loves its blaze;
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung;
Chicago swells its surging throng.

The highlights of the convention were:

The unanimous declaration of firm and irreconcilable opposition to nuclear arms testing by any power—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., France.

The decisive rejection by the rank and file of the leadership's attempts to insert a "guilt by association" clause in the constitution.

The debate for municipal ownership of rental housing and the debate on resolutions urging public ownership of the steel and chemical industry.

The resolution and speech by party leader Hugh Gaitskell which places a question mark around the participation of a Labor Britain and now even a Tory Government Britain in the European market.

These and other aspetcs of the convention are reported in the following articles. (See Pages 2 and 3.)

Cuba Crisis Debated At BC NDP Convention

By Ernest Tate

The third annual provincial convention of the British Columbia New Democratic Party came to a close here, in debt up to its ears—it owes $14,000—and in confusion as to its aims.

The delegates were over whelmed in a welter of resolutions. Points of order and points of information continually interrupted discussion as resolutions on substitute resolutions were systematically referred back to committee. Many times important resolutions were defeated or accepted without debate because of the fact that the delegates did not know what they were debating.

In what was otherwise a dull affair, there were several sparks of excitement. Considerable discussion was provoked around a resolution which encompassed T. C. Douglas' remarks on the Cuban crisis. It called for the United Nations to perform the task of arms inspection to Cuba—in essence to handle the blockade—and the mutual withdrawal of American and Russian bases from foreign territories.

The first speaker to the mike was Cedric Cox, MLA and Fair for Cuba Committee chairman. He insisted that a clause be added to the resolution calling for "the independence of Cuba to be guaranteed by the United Nations." Delegate Ken Grieves from Vancouver Center was next to the mike. He asked that "all reference to the UN be deleted," and went on to say that "the UN hadn't done a good job in the Congo."

Tom Clarke, IWA Local 217 delegate gave further instructions to the committee. He said there was no reason why the NDP should pick out Cuba as an exception. "Why should the UN supervise only Cuba?" he asked. "UN forces are directed by the United States."

In reply to Dave Barrett, who supported the resolution and who exclaimed: "By god, we live or die by the UN and I'm for the UN . . . all the way!", Ruth Bullock of North Vancouver took the floor.

She said she "wasn't for the UN all the way." She criticized inclusion of reference to the UN in the resolution and continued, "We have to consider Korea, the Congo and how Lumumba disappeared. We have to be critical and we should not speak as though we have peace . . . we cannot remove the rights of tiny countries such as Cuba to have weapons."

The resolution was referred back to committee and never got on the floor again because of what

(See BC NDP—Page 3)

Crisis Sparks British Protests

LONDON, Oct. 28—In defiance of government refusal to allow the use of Trafalgar Square in the heart of London for a demonstration several thousand people packed into the Square on Sat., Oct. 27, to protest against the threat of war arising from U.S. government actions against Cuba.

Sporadic clashes with the police and attempts of many to speak in the Square resulted in the arrest of 150. The demonstration was organized by the Committee of 100 headed by the eminent philosopher Bertrand Russell. Russell in a letter to Khrushchov earlier in the week appealed to him "not to be provoked by the unjustifiable action of the United States" and congratulated him on his "courageous stand for sanity." On the other hand he urged Kennedy "most strongly" to make a conciliatory reply to Khrushchov.

Another London demonstration of 500 organized by the British Peace Committee and the Youth Peace Campaign marched from Soho Square to the U.S. Embassy to hand in a message of protest about Cuba. Glasgow, Scotland saw 1,000 demonstrators march in protest against America's Cuban policy. Forty were arrested, among them several youth, during a Committee of 100 demonstration in Albert Square, Manchester.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom, sponsored by a galaxy of Labour MPs and others, scored "the illegal act of the United States in clamping a blockade on Cuba, thereby bringing the world to the brink of war."

Many new forms of protest arose demonstrating the breadth and scope of the revulsion of the British people to the State Department's actions. Some 600 students at Chichester High School for Girls in Sussex decided to go without dinner one day this week as a protest. Forty boys and girls from the senior sixth form of Midhurst Grammar School, Sussex, refused to attend lessons.

Seven hundred Manchester students packed a meeting in the university student's union building to applaud Sir Andrew Murray, vice-president of the Scottish Liberal Party as he said the Americans had brought on the present crisis by their own "folly and ignorance."

A "hands off Cuba" parade of 140 students and staff of the University appeared on Leicester streets. The American consul in Birmingham was presented with a petition signed by 170 university students protesting against U.S. action. Some 70 students from King's College paraded with "Hands Off Cuba" placards through Newcastle, and decided to set up a "Cuba Defence Committee."

More than 80 members of the staff of Edinburgh University have signed a letter to Prime Minister Macmillan urging, "At this moment of extreme crisis it is imperative for the people of Britain and for her Majesty's government to state in the plainest terms that they will refuse to be drawn into a world conflict on this issue."

The Workers Vanguard #80 - Nov. 1962

MASS BC RALLY CONDEMNS KENNEDY

By R. Bentley

Forming the largest meeting ever held on campus, five thousand University of British Columbia students crammed the Main Mall on Oct. 24 to hear five professors speak on Cuba and peace.

The meeting, called by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and the Student Christian Movement, was notable for more than its huge size. It signified a change from the traditional student political apathy. The direct threat of nuclear war and the outrageous action of the American government against Cuba brought nearly half the students to hear one of the group of usually non-committal professors say: "All of us felt that we had to be here today . . ."

Others continued in the same spirit of urgency and indignation. "If we survive this crisis," said Dr. Norman Epstein, "we must realize that none of the governments of the world are to be trusted . . . are we prepared to leave our lives in the hands of people who will obey any order?"

"The extremity of the U.S. reaction to the missile build-up in Cuba is out of all proportion to the military significance," continued Prof. Robert Rowan of the Philosophy Dept. "There has been a growing hysteria over the actions of Cuba. It is hard to say how much pressure there is for action, but Kennedy is subject to it. This action will be followed by other acts. It is evident the U.S., when the chips are down, are prepared to deal with situations with a frustrated military response . . ."

While the speakers were cheered for statements such as these, other students circulated leaflets advertising a Fair Play for Cuba meeting which were snatched up eagerly by many of those present. After the meeting little groups stood around the mall for hours, vigorously arguing the pros and cons of the crisis.

Dave Dellinger, leading U.S. pacifist, on Nov. 3 addressed the largest Fair Play for Cuba banquet ever held in Toronto. He supported Cuban demands that U.S. leave Guantanamo. Most of the 300 attending had a few days earlier demonstrated outside U.S. Consulate in Toronto against Kennedy's imperialist action against Cuba .In New York city, 10,000 rallied outside U.N. building to demand an end to the danger of war over Cuba. Demonstrations in sympathy with Cuba broke out across the world. In Ceylon, dockworkers countered Kennedy by boycotting U.S. ships.

The Workers Vanguard #80 - Nov. 1962

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(See BC NDP—Page 3)

BC NDP Convention Debates Blockade

(Continued from Page 1)

was called by Alex McDonald ". . . a changing international situation which made it impossible to be specific in a resolution." Obviously the leadership felt that the question of Cuba was too controversial. The resolutions committee had met and circulated the proposed resolution on Cuba on the morning of the last day. The excuse given for avoiding it was that the committee had not met to discuss it . . .

The convention decided to raise the dues from $3.00 to $5.00 for a single person and from $5.00 to $8.00 for a married couple. A proposal was made to raise the sustaining membership fee from $12.00 to $18.00.

There was widespread opposition to these measures for raising money. Leo Nimsick, MLA, in a in a heated discussion which flared up for a few mintes, pointed out that "We can never expect to finance the movement on dues alone. By raising membership fees we only defeat our own purpose because there is a law of diminshing returns... We're not like the unions, we don't have the same means to force members to pay dues."

Six resolutions had been submitted calling for the party to advocate Canadian withdrawal from NATO. This whole question was studiously avoided, even though it was generally recognized that this was a key issue in the minds of a great number of the delegates and that this was the reason many of them had travelled from all over the province to the convention. It was referred to the incoming executive.

Ont. Unionists Reaffirm That NDP is the Party for Workers

The first Annual Convention of the Ontario New Democratic Party, held October 6-8 in Toronto, witnessed the adoption of a Program which the Party will present to the voters in the Provincial elections due next spring. Approximately 800 delegates attended—a decline from the 1,200 at the founding convention last year. In view of the Party's notable inability up to this point to pose a clear-cut alternative to the parties of Big Business, and its overall failure to gain the support of the broad masses of the workers and farmers of the province, it might be expected that the Party would have undertaken a serious self-examination, in an effort to analyse past policies, and to correct its mistakes. As a party representing those who produce the wealth of the country, it might be expected to adopt a program offering fundamental solutions to the problems of unemployment, austerity, anti-labor legislation, and monopoly exploitation of small producers.

However, despite pledges to the contrary, the Party executive failed to distribute the draft program to the membership before the Convention, thereby preventing a thoroughgoing preliminary discussion in the constituency clubs and union locals. Thus, delegates were unaware of the contents of the draft until they arrived at the Convention. To make matters worse, as one of the delegates, Richard Fidler of York East, pointed out, there was nothing in the proposals that a clever Liberal couldn't accept. Another delegate, John Smart of York South, termed the program's orientation, lauded in the preamble as one "for consumers, that is, all individuals, great and small(!)", as "a display of crass commercialism worthy of the other parties."

There were, of course, positive proposals in the program. The Convention unanimously endorsed proposals to institute a comprehensive, compulsory medical care plan. This will no doubt be a major issue in the forthcoming election. However, none of the lessons of the Saskatchewan experience were incorporated in the proposals. Delegates rejected a suggestion from youthful delegates Donalda Taynen of Halton and Bob Raphael of Waterloo North that doctors be licensed by the government and that hospitals (now controlled by corporations of doctors and business interests) be placed under public ownership, thereby enabling pro-medicare doctors to speak out in favour of the plan without fear of interference in their professional duties.

The section of the Program entitled "Labour and Management in Society," while advocating a minimum wage of $1.25 per hour and the 40-hour week (the average work week in Ontario is already 40.7 hours) also called for greater co-operation between management and labour. It backed up remarks by some union bureaucrats and NDP brass that strikes are a "wasteful way of resolving differences" and called for "more mature means" of solving industrial problems.

This attitude was embodied in a resolution from St. Paul's riding advocating a form of compulsory arbitration. When these proposals came up for discussion, a heated debate broke out. Delegates lined up, eight-deep at each microphone, to condemn the motions. The Convention roared its agreement as Dennis MacDermott of the UAW shouted: "If you take away the strike weapon you emasculate the trade union movement in this country." When the issue came to a vote, the resolution went down to crushing defeat.

Despite the militancy of this occasion, however, the Convention was a passive one. There was sporadic opposition to most planks of the thoroughly opportunist platform, but the militants, mostly youth, were weak and disorganized, and usually found themselves speaking strictly for the record. However, their criticisms impressed many of the delegates, particularly newer members of the Party, and even caused the Right-Wing considerable embarrassment—to the extent that Ken Bryden, M.P.P., lost his temper and complained to the Convention: "All day they've been running to the microphone to show what hairy-chested, virile Socialists they are, but they really know nothing about socialism." He was answered by a chorus of boos.

Although billed as a programmatic convention, much time was spent on organizational matters. Frustrated by financial difficulties and the failure of the Party to reach even one-half of its general membership objective for the past year, delegates voted for an increased membership fee of $5.00. One hopeful note was that the objective of 100,000 for affiliated union memberships had been surpassed by 25%.

81 Queen Street West
December 1, 1962

Gwen MacEwen
91 Hazleton

Sorry to be so long in answering your welcome note and enclosure of a few weeks back. Possibly you have guessed as to the delay--we have been tied up in knots with our election campaign. The opportunity comes only once in two years and what with the experience that arose around Kennedy's arrogant blockade of Cuba we felt that we must put every ounce of our energy into the campaign.

Well it is now almost over--hope to get in on the TV election night--the next day speak at Ryerson on Marxism and its validity today --then go to see Milton that evening. I was glad to hear from Al Purdy that you have been up to see him. I understand he is still in bad shape. Not much of a cheer-leader but may be able to give him a little help.

Read the contribution from Jona with considerable interest. Very good. Haven't got to work on the next issue yet but bif it doesn't make this issue it will make the next. Looking forward to meeting the authro in the flesh and you too again---say at the Friday forum.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

December 9 , 1963

Dear Dick;

Have just received the article of the Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec. Excellent! In return mail I have sent you a copy of the Algerian magazine ~~xxx~~ mentioned in World Outlook, along with latest Peking Reviews.

~~Xxxx~~ Vern left on Saturday but before leaving told me that there may well be another invitation come through to Cuba. We agreed that it would not be particularly good for Anne to pick it up. He only had two suggestions in Toronto who could be approached who might be useful in a braoder sense to the committee-- Cathers and White. I said no. Thought it over last night and struck on the idea of suggesting that a PSQer go, then there is our cultural drive to consider that never really got off the ground. The results are---we have just sent a registered letter off the Chartrand asing him if he would like to go and the need to have a pass port . In the letter to him we suggest if it was not possible for him to go could he suggest some other responsible leading PSQer. Steeves has offered to take upthe Vancouver quota if and when it comes through. Of course this all depends on the Cubans coming across. We have also sent a letter to the poet Al Purdy who is one of the most promising of the you ger poets and is very close to us. I thinkthat if the PSQ doesn't pick this oneup and he does something good would come from him.

The letter to Chartrand of course was sent in Vern's name to the PSQ headquarters registered. I do not see that you need to know about it other than as information Seems to me that it would be very good if Chratrand were to pick the offer up if or when it comes through in the next couple of weeks. Will let you know how he responds --of course would like your opinion of anyone who hemight recommend in his stead.

warmest Regards

(R.D.)

looking forward to the Algerian press release

December 9, 1963

Dear Dick; (Montreal)

Forgot to enclose these minutes with the other note today.

Also forgot to tell you that the S[illegible]s without letting me know made a switch inplans that wisked them away right after our Friday night forum so that I did not have the opportunity to pursue the matter of our setting up a store somewhere else any further than the few comments that I told you about before.

They were tremendously impressed by the week theyspe nt here and par ticularly the experiences that they had with us. As he was leaving he told me that they will becoming back to Canada to work for socialism here—in such a way as to suggest that he had never had this thought before. He enjoyed the Friday forum very much—it was shaped to his request. A sort of interview by Cliff xxx where he was able to deal with questions as he liked. She of course is a very fine type of woman=="everyone was impressed by her contri butions. As they left they made a donation of 50 dollars to the league and of course took a terrific amount of books with them.

I do not know how long they will be staying in Montreal. And I do not know how much opportunity you will have to speak to them. I am hoping that you will be able to raise the question of a bookstore and that they will respond along the directions that he was talking to me.

warmest regards

Ross

December 10, 1962

Dear Ernie and Ruth (Vancouver)

I dont know about golden girls and boys ~~xxxxxxx~~ you are much more precious--we could not put the paper out as it should without ~~xxx~~ you

Last night we got a phone call from a contact--the story ~~xxxx~~ broke over the air. This morning no letter from Ruth and none yet--it is 6 almost in the evening. Of course we need this letter to go on--so we can decide how to handle the whole thing. But now the break over the radio---and all three papers in Toronto ~~xxxxx~~ cleared up everything. I wired her at once that the press carried the material and that we needed direction and she replied by return wire "SITUATION CHANGED STORY CAN BE CARRIED EXPELLED YOUTH ISSUED PRESS STATEMENT." (Statement)

Naturally enough, as everyone would expect since it has become a national issue I have issued a press statement. We have placed it in everyone's hands--copies to all the members at large tooso that they know what to do ,how to speak. I think that it is not a bad statement--- doesn't deal at all ~~xxxxxx~~ with the issue of whether they are or are not ISAers etc. I hope that portions of it get picked up--possibly the Vancouver papers will carry it since it must be considered big news out there. Hope the release meets with your approval.

Without entering into a local conflict in any apparent ~~xxx~~ or obvious way I have tried to help it so that the discussion there next meeting will have some of the heat removed from it. Do I read the wire to be an accusation that you Ruth Tate released it to the press and thereby broke the dicipline of the movement. With my release I think that everyone will see that Ruth should have made a statement to the press Incidently we enclosed the pamphlet What the ISA is with the releases to the Vancouver and Toronto papers. They might use that too

Noted your information re the handling of Roger at Stanley Park--- this incident speaks volumes for the Bullockstrategy. Hopes she gets the little tiny point in my note to her--

Would like to write to you at length but I cannot do so at this time. Ernie dont bother about China-India. We have no room for anything of this type this issue. But keep us informed on how the struggle unfolds there. Anything you comr across--any of your thoughts--not necessarlity letters --notes--any form. Alan is rewriting your article on the strike situation with the aid of the many clippings you have been sending in. We pulled this too along with all the expulsion material--so we are starting out almost from scratch

fraternally

Ross

~~of some duration.~~
Montreal

with warmest regards

Dec 11/63 (error)
(Found in 1962 Cre books)

Dear Edith & Bob

Ross Bowson

Thanks very much for your article on the Cuban struggle to overcome the hurricane damage. To be sure as La Presse says the "text contains but little information we did not receive through press agencies." The trouble is from their point of view that it is written from a totally different orientation and spirit ---what they cell"slant." I was talking to the editor of the Fair Play bulletin whichisin the very middle of going to press and he asked me how I thought your visit here should be handled. He has agreed that an excellent way would be to reprbduce the bulk of your art article with a short introductory remark. He was glad to get it because this issue of the bulletin which is covering the Cox trip tends to be largely organizational in character. He is also reproducing some supplementary material on the meeting in front of the palce that was forwarded by a Bryan Belfont. He is a University of British Columbia student who is now in Havana.

Hope you did not have too much trouble with that pile of books you are taking back with you. I must say that all the comrades appreciated your visit here. Everyone was particularly pleased with the Friday LSA forum. I see from the latest Vanguard that you were able to make the PSQ convention and utilize the Cuban experience to good purpose. All in all it seems to me that you spent a very busy and extremely valuable holiday in this country---and you will be in fit condition to take a bit of a rest when you return to the sunny snores of Cuba.

I have one regret about your visit--that is that you were unable to spend more time here,and that we did not have the opportunity to a couple of more extensive discussions. Well, now we know one another I am hoping that when you return you will be able to maintain a continuing contact with us--not necessarily articles for the paper--and we can use them--but even the odd note from time to time giving us your impressions of developments that you know we are interested in.

Perhaps next holiday you will be able to extend it into a stay of some duration.

with warmest regards

Ross Bowson

The Workers Vanguard

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LSA CAMPAIGNED FOR LABOR IN TORONTO MUNICIPAL VOTE

By C. COTTON

This year's Toronto civic election campaign launched by the League for Socialist Action was the most extensive and hard-hitting of the several that have seen its national secretary, Ross Dowson, contest the highest post in civic office.

The League sponsored Dowson for mayor for two major reasons: One—To uphold the principle of independent labor political action when this was not done by either the Toronto Labor Council or the New Democratic Party. Two—To rally support for the defense of the Cuban socialist revolution, still under threat of attack by American imperialism which in its attempts to crush Cuba a month earlier endangered the world, including the people of Toronto, with a nuclear holocaust.

The Metro NDP Oct. 26-27 convention did not so much as discuss running a slate, despite Ontario party leader Donald MacDonald's acknowledgement that many NDPers wanted to end the Liberal-Tory perpetrated myth that municipal politics are non-party.

The Toronto Labor Council, violating its past policy of endorsing only CCF-NDPers or unionists endorsed by their local, jumped on the bandwagon of Tory machine mayoralty candidate Summerville. An Oct. 4 resolution which the leadership rammed through council endorsed all candidates "who have taken a consistently progressive stand". This led to support of a slate of candidates barely distinguishable from that offered by the daily press, and included several Liberals and Tories.

At an election meeting sponsored by Teamsters Local 938, Dowson challenged to a public debate any supporters of the TLC stand at any place of their choosing. "I will contend that to support the Tories and Liberals at any level, including the municipal level," he stated, "is to practice company unionism at the ballot box—is tantamount to scabbing at the ballot box."

The LSA campaign cut across the no issues personality contest conducted through the news columns of the daily press between Tory Mayor Phillips (seeking re-election) and Tory Controller Summerville.

(See Page 3—TORONTO)

Toronto mayoralty candidate ROSS DOWSON addressing a meeting last summer in Allan Gardens. Dowson tested a municipal by-law that bars free speech in the parks following the arrest of nuclear arms opponent Douglas Campbell. He was unmolested. Subsequently poetry readers were arrested. Their case has been remanded until the outcome of Campbell's appeal to the higher courts.

Toronto Election Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

The LSA challenged that "the overriding issue in this election is survival itself."

The LSA election manifesto showed how, at the height of the crisis, Phillips had preached acceptance of nuclear war and its "consequences". Summerville's silence spoke volumes. "This is the mayor" continued the leaflet, "who heads a flock of candidates who claim that the issues of this election are off-street parking, sidewalk repair, the sale of small home town bonds . . . when the very existence of Toronto itself, every structure, every human being, is at stake."

Dowson challenged that a mayor worthy of the citizens of Toronto would have joined the picket lines that appeared before the U.S. consulate; would have solidarized himself with the Voice of Women and CND delegations that appealed to the Diefenbaker government not to nuclear arm Canadian forces; would have exposed the Emergency Measures Organization actions as a fraud and a hoax designed to lull the population into acceptance of the idea of a nuclear war; and would have voted against any Metro funds to EMO, etc.

Despite the blackout of the LSA campaign by the press, radio and TV (The Toronto *Star's* was absolute) Dowson, on a few occasions, was able to break through to forward the LSA program. CBC TV showed Dowson for a couple of minutes addressing a meeting during which he exposed how municipal funds were being used to maintain high rentals and encourage capital investment to remain in the de luxe apartment and commercial properties field. Dowson urged an extensive program of subsidized low-rental, low-cost housing across the city.

As the returns came in Dowson appeared again on CBC TV. He attributed the slight fall in his vote—to 1,119—to the blackout and to the false policy of the NDP and TLC, whose support of Tories and Liberals left the labor vote at home. He urged his listeners to witness the profound revolution that is sweeping across the globe and spoke of the need to think in terms of a new society and an N D P government throughout the country. He stated that we are facing a choice between capitalism or socialism, between the destruction of all the past achievments of mankind or the construction on the foundations of man's accumulated wealth of a new society of peace and plenty.

This year's LSA campaign won a greater response from its many friends and supporters than any previous one. The League's principled stand on the war question won support of people in the peace movement. Some 60,000 election leaflets were distributed at factory gates and door to door in working class areas. A special Italian language leaflet was distributed in the concentrated Italian areas. Almost a thousand posters were pasted across the city.

On Saturday, two days before the vote, a picket line carrying signs emblazoned with appropriate slogan wound its way through the downtown Christmas-shopping crowds that were swollen by Grey Cup enthusiasts. A sound truck toured the major thoroughfares right across the city addressing passersby on the issues of the election.

The Communist Party, although tying its few candidates in with the several known-to-be NDP candidates, did not once mention candi- Dowson in its press. Its Board of Control candidate Phylis Clarke even told the Teamster meeting that there was *no* mayoralty candidate a labor person could vote for.

Election day returns made a mockery of TLC claims that Summerville's election was *its* victory. In the face of widespread apathy, a product of the NDP and TLC policies, no new layers of voters turned out at the polls. The tremendous power of the Tory machine in the absence of any motion in the electorate was revealed in its capacity to switch the 40% of the eligible voters who traditionally go to the polls from behind long-standing Tory Mayor Phillips to total up a thumping majority behind Summerville.

Protest Witch-Hunt In West Coast NDP

Vancouver—The Vancouver area New Democratic Party has been thrown into uproar by the secret and sudden expulsion of eight members, and the suspension of three more, from the BC New Democratic Youth. Expressions of solidarity are reported to have come from such leading figures as Colin Cameron, MP; Bert Herridge, MP; Dorothy Steeves, provincial executive members; and W. W. Lefeaux.

Two NDY members were accused of having failed to vote or of having voted against a resolution submitted to the last NDY annual convention; a resolution which called for the "whole-hearted endorsation of all the party's program and principles." (The convention later voted for withdrawal from NATO, a position not held by the adult party.)

All were charged with being a "participant in the activities of the League for Socialist Action," an organization they claim, "whose aims and principles are against the interests of the NDP." One member was cited for selling the *Workers Vanguard*.

All the defendants have been active at one time or another in the fiight in the party to commit the party to withdrawal from NATO and are associated with the demand of nationalization of basic industries. All have been active defenders of the Cuban Revolution. At the last youth convention they were prominent in the fight against the leadership's efforts to slash the constitutional rights of the membership.

One of the expelled, Phil Courneyeur, a member of the CCF and NDP for eleven years, was last year's provincial secretary. Also expelled was Ruth Tate, editor of the fast-growing youth magazine, the *Young Socialist Forum*, a publication which is endorsed by the provincial council of the New Democratic Youth.

Great outrage has been expressed at the way the expulsions were carried out. The defendants received four days notice. On asking for an adjournment to a later date they were refused. Their lawyer, John

(See Page 3—PROTESTS)

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Protests Mount Against Expulsions of BC Youth

(Continued from Page 1)

Macey, an NDP member, was refused the particulars of the charges.

On the day of the trial a huge crowd of party members showed up at the provincial party headquarters to find out what was going on. For many this was the first they knew that the trials were taking place. The board-room was packed. The executive ruled that the affair was to be conducted *in camera* and the room was cleared. The membership were escorted from the room under protest. Fifteen minutes had been allotted for each trial.

The accused were refused their counsel, their stenographer and a tape recorder. On learning of this, they pleaded that they needed time to prepare a new defense counsel and again asked for an adiournment. When this was refused, the defendants withdrew from the trial under protest.

In explaining their actions later, some of the defendants stated that the reason they refused to participate in the proceedings was that they felt a responsibility to the party not to give credence to such a star-chamber affair as being a "trial" or justice for that matter.

Discontent is beginning to reverberate throughout the movement as the membership, to date uninformed as to what has happened, learn of the expulsions.

(Since this article was written, news of the expulsions broke in the BC and national press.—Editor.)

The Burnaby NDP constituency executive have protested strongly; so has the North Vancouver constituency executive. Many feel that the moves are the beginning of a campaign to rid the movement of all dissenters. There is apprehension that the actions of the youth executive could cost the party the next provincial election, previously considered by many to be a sure victory.

Appeals have been launched by the defendants to the provincial and federal NDP executives on the grounds that the NDY is "a section of the provincial party" according to the constitution, and that the NDY executive do not have the power to try and expel any member of the organization.

The defendants have constituted themselves as a committee and in consultation with a number of prominent NDP left wingers, are engaged in the campaign for a fair trial and a defense of their right to speak and organize to promote the views they hold.

A letter outlining the defendants stand and asking for help was mailed to the party membership. (See page one—Editor). A series of meetings are planned, designed primarily to acquaint the membership with the facts. Among the speakers will be Hugh Clifford, Ruth Bullock, Phil Courneyeur, and Ruth Tate. The first meeting, held in the Hillcrest NDP Hall on December 2, was a big success with some 90 members in attendance.

The Workers Vanguard #81 - Dec. 1962

An Open Letter From the Expelled BC Youth

Dear fellow members of the New Democratic Party:

On Sunday, November 18, 1962, the provincial executive of the B.C. New Democratic Youth, sitting as Trial Committee, tried and expelled 11 members—ranging in age from 15 to 24 years—*in absentia*.

The general charge laid against the NDY'ers is indicated in the appended letter.* For your information the activities of the League for Socialist Action are limited entirely to socialist education, discussion, panels, forums, etc. It is not separate nor apart from the NDP. It has no dues paying membership. The hall is supported by voluntary donations of socialist friends and was used as a CCF-NDP committee room in the 1960 provincial election by Tom Berger and Bill Dennison, and in this year's federal election by Margaret Erickson.

The accused were faced with the task of defending themselves under impossible conditions.

1. We were given only four days notice of the trial.
2. We were refused an adjournment in order to prepare a defense.
3. We were refused details of the charges.
4. We were refused the right to challenge the bias of the judges. Our accusers were also our prosecutors, our judges, our jury, and the executors of the sentence.
5. Our lawyer, an NDP member, was excluded from the trial and we were left without competent legal defense.
6. We were to be tried individually in secret and all members of the NDP, including even parents of the accused, were refused admittance.
7. On advice of our counsel we felt that it was neither in our interest, nor in the interest of the NDP, that we should allow ourselves to be subjected to a trial of this nature. We therefore refused to proceed.
8. We were then tried *in absentia* and expelled. Eight of us outright and three suspended with degrading conditions for our return to membership.

WE ARE APPEALING TO THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES OF THE NDP TO ORDER A NEW AND DEMOCRATIC TRIAL. If you agree with us that this denial of fundamental rights is inconsistant with the principles of the New Democratic Party please write us. Donations to our fund would be appreciated as this appeal is involving us in considerable expense.

In addition it would be of great assistance to the defendants if you would also register your demands for a fair trial to your CLUB and CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATIONS.

THE DEFENDANTS ARE: Paul Sigurgeirson (Richmond-Delta), Ruth Tate (Van-Burrard), Roger Perkins (Van-Centre), Walter Walimaa, Bud Bennett, Don Morgenson (Van-East), Marg Henderson, Jacqui Henderson, Stephanie Crate, Ben Clifford (North Van) and Phil Corneyeur (Burnaby).

Fraternally,

Phil Corneyeur, Ruth Tate, Vancouver, B.C.

Ben Clifford, 931 — 22nd St., West Vancouver.

*The letter referred to is addressed by BC New Democratic Youth secretary Lyle Kristiansen to one of the expelled. Among other things it states:

". . . you are an active participant in the activities of an organization whose principles and policies are contrary to those of the New Democratic Youth, that is the League for Socialist Action. . . . you *abstained from voting* on the formal resolution supporting the principles and policies of the New Democratic Party at the recent youth convention."

The Workers Vanguard

#81 - Dec. 1962

Diefenbaker and Liberals Combine to –

RENEW DRIVE TO A-ARM CANADA

By Paul Macpherson

A few days before Christmas Prime Minister Diefenbaker will meet with President Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in the Bahamas, south east of Florida.

Mr. Diefenbaker has indicated that one of the key subjects that he wants discussed is Canada as a nuclear power within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. All indications are that the Tory government's Christmas present to the Canadian people will be a fiendish one—nuclear warheads.

The Tory government has already made all the preparations for nuclear warheads by purchasing some 700 million dollars worth of military equipment that is useless without nuclear arms. They have attempted to cover over their cynical policy by hypocritically talking about peace and disarmament negotiations.

A further indication is External Affairs Minister Howard Green's refusal to answer New Democratic Party leader T. C. Douglas's question in the House of Commons that he give assurance that Canada will resist any efforts to make NATO a nuclear power.

The Toronto *Globe and Mail* of December 7 reports "the question is reaching the critical stage for the government because Canadian forces overseas are accepting delivery of nuclear firing systems for their strike reconnaissance aircraft and artillery rocket equipment assigned to NATO."

The same *Globe* dispatch states that "there is considerable pressure being placed on the government from outside to make the move." The *Toronto Daily Star*'s Washington correspondent, Martin Goodman, states bluntly "The United States is ready to swat Canada in the pocket book over the lack of a clear Canadian defense policy." According to Goodman the U.S. is threatening to cut off juicy defense contracts from Canadian industry in order to get Canadian action on nuclear arms.

Diefenbaker is now just looking for a way to bring them in. The heat's on the government to get the nuclear warheads. So much so that the Liberals are now moving in the direction of an open declaration for nuclear arms.

The *Toronto Star* of December 12 reports that Paul Hellyer, the Liberal defense critic in the House of Commons, said "that as long as Canada has accepted a nuclear strike role in NATO it is necessary for the CF-104 aircraft now arriving in Europe to be equipped with nuclear bombs."

F. C. Hunnius of the Canadian Committee for Nuclear Disarmament interviewed in November some 13 Liberal MPs in the House of Commons. Eight of the 13 inter-

(See Page 2—A BOMBS)

CLC OPPOSES NUCLEAR ARMS

The Canadian Labor Congress has asked the Diefenbaker government for a White Paper defining its defence policies. Reflecting widespread fears that the Tories, with the aid of the Liberals, are about to make the final decision to nuclear arm Canadian forces, in its annual brief to the cabinet the CLC asked the government to take the people into its confidence.

Point three of the CLC brief urged the government to oppose the spread of nuclear weapons and renounce them for Canadian territory or in the hands of Canadian forces.

In Quebec the 102,000 member Confederation of National Trade Unions also opposed the extension of nuclear weapons to countries which do not now have them.

A BOMBS HERE?

(Continued from Page 1)

viewed were for nuclear arms in Canada right now.

It now appears that a few Tory politicians; John Diefenbaker and big industrialist Wallace McCutcheon, while sunning themselves on E. P. Taylor's posh Lyford Cay real estate development in the Bahamas, will take us another big step towards World War Three.

On the most important question in the world confronting us all, we are to have no say! Instead, a government, which at best can only claim to represent 37 per cent of those who cast ballots in the June federal election—that is a minority government and one that can't even claim a mandate from its minority for its plans—it appears is now ready to bring nuclear warheads into Canada.

Rather than having a handful of Tory politicians decide this question a national referendum should be held. The Canadian people should vote on whether they want nuclear bombs or not in Canadian hands.

All opposed to nuclear arms should unite behind the demand for a referendum on this question. A powerful opposition to nuclear arms made up of the unions, NDP, anti-war and other groups, demanding that the government delay any action until the issue has been publicly debated before the Canadian people and voted on, can stop the Diefenbakers, Hellyers and other big business politicians from taking us further down the road to war.

How the Ottawa NDP Caucus Acted When the Heat Was On

By CLIFF ORCHARD

Every moment that ticked by threatened to bring the destruction of a nuclear World War III. Kennedy's finger was on the button, prepared to launch a full scale attack against Cuba. In this time of crisis how did the NDP parliamentary caucus in Ottawa act? What did it do and say?

For two days following Kennedy's speech, when the situation demanded the boldest actions, they sat glued to their seats in the commons, paying strict observance to the rules and regulations of parliamentary procedure. When Diefenbaker banned discussion on the crisis from the floor of parliament —the body that supposedly runs the country—they registered a mild protest for the record, asked one question, and then clammed up.

When the caucus finally issued a prepared statement of party policy, read to the commons by leader H. W. Herridge, it pinned the blame for the crisis on—who? Why, the Soviet Union and Cuba—for placing missiles in Cuba.

To be sure, "our friendly and powerful neighbor," the U.S., made them "critical and unhappy". It got a mild rap on the knuckles for not "first bringing the whole matter of missile bases in Cuba to the United Nations . . ." and for "deciding on its course of action without consulting even its NATO allies, but merely informing them of the course of action decided upon."

But had Kennedy first gone through these channels would they have then opposed the blockade thrown around Cuba, the threat to start nuclear war, etc? Not a word of disapproval was uttered against these actions, only for deciding unilaterally!

Focusing blame on Cuban missiles, which all the reactionary political parties were doing, was the same as blaming a robber's victim for the ensuing fray, when, to defend himself from the assailant's gun, he picks up a stick. For no matter what nuclear equipment Cuba had it was nothing compared to the U.S. missile arsenal. The parliamentary caucus knew as well as everybody else did that the U.S. still openly planned to crush the Cuban revolution by force, even after the April, 1961 fiasco at Playa Giron, for which Kennedy assumed full responsibility. At that time Cuba had no missiles to "provoke" the U.S. State Department.

The Cuban government had the responsibility of backing their defenses with the best equipment and men they could get, whatever the source. Dec. 18 *Look* magazine reveals in detail how the Cuban missiles caused the U.S. to keep putting back the date of the assault.

But the NDP brass in Ottawa object — they oppose the spread of nuclear weapons to any country. Can they be serious? Can missile bases used to defend an island from attack be considered the same as those its attacker has built throughout the world, has aimed against the Soviet Union, is now trying to push into Canada?

Maybe they didn't see it; certainly they didn't show any recognition of it. But in the interests of the party they should have blasted Kennedy's action and rallied as much opposition as they could to him. When an NDP government is established it will implement a program of low cost housing, free schooling, medicare, and so on. The Cuban government has roused the hatred of Washington by doing just these things, by showing the masses of the colonial countries what can be done when their old ruling classes are thrown out and the power of American millionaires is broken. Will the NDP seat warmers in Ottawa allow the U.S. government to threaten military intervention in order to stop the NDP from interfering with its financial interests in Canada, and to stop the NDP from putting its program into practice? Will this intervention be justified? Will it be a provocation for the Canadian NDP government to defend itself and protest attempts at U.S. intervention? If they won't do this, what right have they to be leading a labor party and saying they will implement its program?

Their boasted "positive proposals" to end the crisis were as inadequate as their analysis of its causes. No protests were launched against Kennedy. Nuclear war could have come any time. But the NDP brass palmed it off by asking Diefenbaker to ask the UN to ask Kennedy and Khrushchev to call it off, to 'simultaneously back down. When the murderer had the gun cocked and pointed at his victim, the witness stood passively by and chatted about finding someone who might intervene. At no time in history did any power so nonchalantly ignore the UN as did the U.S. a few days before.

But if they wanted to appeal to the UN, why didn't they support the demands of Cuban President Dorticos on Oct. 8, two weeks before the crisis? He then raised the whole matter of U.S.-Cuba relations and demanded that action be taken to stop the U.S. assault, even then advanced beyond the planning stages.

The true colors of any leadership are revealed in times of crisis. The Cuban crisis revealed that the parliamentary caucus is completely lacking in the necessary qualities of leadership.

Vanguard The Weekly #81-Dec. 1962

PRAIRIE NDP BACKS CUBA DURING CRISIS

During the Cuba crisis, while the NDP parliamentary caucus at Ottawa pretended to sit on the international fence, critical of both Cuba and the U.S., but in reality fired volleys at Cuba for "provoking the U.S. blockade," many prominent figures in the NDP solidly placed themselves on the side of Cuba.

Saskatchewan Attorney General R. A. Walker, addressing the model UN Assembly on Oct. 24, gave powerful reasons for disbelieving Kennedy's claims that Cuban missiles constituted an offensive threat. He pointed out that a fleet of US long range, nuclear armed bombers is constantly poised in the Arctic—called strictly defensive by Washington, and said to be "massive retaliation" weapons. He recalled that less than two years ago the U.S. had invaded Cuba, violating international law, including its own Neutrality Act, and jibed that "if we have sufficient mental flexibility we can now accept the argument that nuclear launching sites in Cuba are not defensive, but constitute an act of aggression against the U.S."

Charles Biesick, editor of the *Manitoba Commonwealth* until it stopped publication, and now weekly commentator for the *Saskatchewan Commonwealth*, stated in his Oct. 31 column: "Cuba obviously had no nuclear weapons when Castro came to power; still the U.S. even then regarded this little nation a threat to its security . . . Cuba certainly did not have missile bases or any offensive weapons when the U.S. supported that ill-fated invasion of the island. But still the U.S. felt its security threatened.

"The precise point at that time at which the U.S. felt its security threatened by Cuba was when the Castro government launched its program of land reform and the nationalization of industry. This threatened the security of U.S. investors in Cuba . . . "

"The U.S. government made up of millionaires and wealthy investors is determined to maintain the status quo in Latin America. It regards all the nations in this hemisphere as its special preserve to have and to hold in perpetuity by force if necessary. Whether a government comes to power through elections or by revolution the U.S. is determined to thwart every effort at reforms which would seriously impinge on U.S. interests . . . "

Biesick branded the U.S. action in Cuba " . . . unprovoked aggression, which it obviously is, and should be treated as such."

In his Nov. 14 column Biesick demolished *Time Magazine's* arguement that U.S. bases in Turkey are justifiable, as against the bases in Cuba, which were presented as being not Cuban but Soviet bases. *Time* claimed that the purpose of U.S. bases in Turkey is to strengthen the defense system of NATO and were established with the consent of the Turkish government. Biesick replied, "You could retort that the Soviet base in Cuba was for the purpose of strengthening the defences of Cuba and that they were established with the consent of the Cuban government. Furthermore one could point out that the U.S. is maintaining a base in Cuba (Guantanamo) obviously against the will of the Cuban government."

A significant editorial in the Oct. 31 *Saskatchewan Commonwealth*, prairie organ of the NDP-CCF, made no direct effort to analyse the crisis in all its implications, but instead posed a series of highly pertinent questions — questions the Ottawa NDP parliamentary caucus has not considered or attempted to answer. Some of these are:

"Since Cuba has already been subjected to one serious invasion attempt from the shores of the USA, has endured several minor attacks from the same quarters, and is fully aware that preparations for a larger scale attack are being made, is it surprising that she should prepare to defend herself? . . .

"We are opposed to the principle of Cuba having nuclear weapons, just as we are opposed to Canada having nuclear weapons, but is it not ridiculous to suggest that any one country can tell any other country what kind of weapons it is to have? If the USA can tell Cuba what kind of weapons it can have, just because it is a near neighbor, is it not reasonable that People's China should be able to say what kind of weapons can be on Formosa? . . .

"How can there be any possibility of world peace if the U.S. insists that she can put missile bases anywhere in the world and that she will launch a thermonuclear war against anyone who claims a similar right? . . .

"If Canada, for instance, should decide to adopt an economic policy of which the USA did not approve, would we be invaded, and would we be accused of aggression if we attempted to defend ourselves?"

The Workers' Vanguard #81-Dec. 1962

RIGHT WING MEETS SECRETLY

Perhaps the most ironic and underhanded charge of the top leadership of the NDP against the League for Socialist Action is that it constitutes an illegal caucus, "a political organization" within the NDP. According to them, there is a ban on factions in the party—that is, all factions but their own. For none are more adept at maneuvering in unprincipled and opportunistic blocs than the party and trade union brass, when the occasion demands it.

Occasionally such groupings appear openly as more-or-less political organizations centred around a particular programmatic demand. An example of this was the sudden appearance at the NDP founding convention of a pamphlet urging the adoption of a pro-NATO foreign policy, signed by various right-wing youth delegates.

More often, however, they function behind the scenes as personal factions, wheeling and dealing, spreading gossip and slander, but never forgetting that organizational matters are of supreme importance —their cardinal rule is never to let a principled political discussion develop, which would run the risk of raising debate to a serious plane.

Ontario alone abounds with these blocs. For years, in the old CCF, there existed an extremely sharp division between the Woodsworth House brass with all their assorted cohorts, and the Steelworkers machine. The former group fought hard to keep the influence of the latter within the NDP to a minimum—both wanted the party as a private preserve for their pork-choppers and hangers-on.

At the provincial founding convention, these groups blossomed out with open slates circulating on the convention floor. Around the same period, many of the leading New Party Club "liberals" were extremely active—in recruiting new members and consolidating new clubs? Well, no; in frantically caucusing among themselves and forming power blocs in order to wheedle some influential positions on the various executive bodies. Similarly, many caucuses developed at the recent provincial convention, most of them devoted to such relatively unimportant matters as the elections to the secretary's position.

Incidentally, just who does put out those mysterious and marvellously detailed "suggestions" for election of executive members which correspond at least 95% to the final results? The plain fact is that caucuses, both open and concealed, political and non-political, are an accepted and legitimate part of the New Democratic Party. Even the brass finds them indispensable.

The LSA's crime is that it cuts across these unprincipled and partly debilitating connivings to raise the big issues confronting the party—upon which they all stand in 100% agreement with one another and solidly against the L.S.A.

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THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION
81 Queen Street West
Toronto, Canada

January 9, 1963

Toronto Organizer
Metro Committee of the Communist Party of tEanada
Cecil Street
Toronto

Dear Comrade

Somewhile back we proposed that a committee be initiated to carry on continuing activities here in Canada in solidarity with struggles to defend civil rights in the United States

Last year we joined with you in front of the US Consulate in protest against the US Government's persecution of the American Communist Party.

We are still of the opinion that it would be valuable if we could move forward in the direction of realizing our original objective. For instance on December 11 the CP went on trial in Washington as the first political party in US history to be brought into criminal court. The Gus Hall-Ben Davis Defence Committee has urged that protests be forwarded to Attorney General Kennedy's offices asking him to stop all proceedings under the McCarran Act. We think something should be done here in Canada.

William Worthy, correspondent of the Baltimore Afro-American was convicted of re-entering the US from a visit to Cuba without a passport and given a three month sentence. An ad hoc group of prominent Americans are urging demonstrations across the US in protest of an award by the Bnai B'rith and the Anti Defamation League to President Kennedy because of the Worthy case. The protest statement has been signed by Linus Pauling, author James Baldwin, playwright Lorraine Hansbury, author of Raisin in the Sun, among others.

The award is being handed Kennedy following an address that he will be giving at a banquet in Washington on January 31. The ceremony will be televised. In some cities ADL and B'nai B'rith offices are being picketed on both January 15th and 31st. The banquet itself will be picketed. The B'nai B'rith headquarters in Toronto is at the Prak Plaza hotel.

We would appreciate your contacting us just as soon as possible to discuss the possibilities of action along these lines.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Trotskyites are the 'small-c' Communists

(Vancouver) Province Jan 21/63

By ORMOND TURNER
Province Staff Writer

It is confusing nowadays to meet a person who THINKS like a Communist, ACTS like a Communist, and TALKS like a Communist, but who turns out to be one of Canada's 1,000-odd Trotskyites.

The current interest in Trotskyism stems from the visit to Cuba of NDP MLA Cedric Cox. He went as a representative of the Fair Play for Cuba committee of which he is a member and which has been identified as a Trotskyite organization. Recent expulsions from the local NDP youth organization also had a Trotskyite undercurrent.

What is a Trotskyite? How does he differ from a Soviet-type Communist and an NDPer? How does he get in the NDP?

The identification derives from Leon Trotsky who, with Lenin, founded the Soviet Communist Party in 1917. He was expelled by Stalin in 1923 and assassinated in Mexico City in 1940.

* * *

The Trotskyites insist theirs is the true communism. They refer to themselves as communists with a small "c." Those who advocate Moscow-type communism are Communists with a big "C."

The Trotskyites say Moscow Marxism is nothing more than "state managerial capitalism." This is essentially capitalism run by the state instead of private enterprise.

The Trotskyites argue that Communist rule in Russia has resulted in an ever-increasing power for the state apparatus. They claim that Russian communism is pure bureaucracy, a vast governmental machine run by self-willed civil servants. They see no bright future for the worker in Russia "where everyone is a commissar."

* * *

They say that the Communist utopian state that Marx dreamed of has not come to pass in Russia because the fight for power between governmental bureaus has resulted in "state managerial capitalism."

The Trotskyite has no platform, no leader, and no firm ideological belief. His pamphlets contain the same Socialist dogma as those published by the NDP; he is a dissenter and a revolutionary like the Communist, but he is less militant and calls himself a "libertarian."

He is an anti-Communist communist, an anarchist who wants government of workers and farmers, a militant revolutionary who preaches world peace, and a dissenter. But, mostly, he is a dissenter.

The Trotskyite can also be distinguished from the "big C" Communists by the way he speaks. He calls the worker a worker. The Communist calls him "the faceless, toiling proletarian masses." The Trotskyite calls the boss a boss. The Reds call him a "blood-sucking, bourgeois, war-mongering capitalist."

The Trotskyite says his beliefs are the result of "good logic," while the Communist says HIS come from "transcendential dialectic."

* * *

If a Trotskyite is a "small c" communist, how did he get that way? What makes a devotee of communism so violently opposed to Russian communism?

The Trotskyite says there is a world of difference between communism and Communism. They say the Russians are wrong when they say communism began with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels when they wrote their Communist Manifesto in 1848. They point out that there were two communist communities in the U.S. as early as 1825.

They say communism is a term to describe systems of social organizations based upon an ideal of common property, or of equal distribution of income and wealth. There have been many small communistic communities, most of them based on religion through a literal translation and interpretation of passages in the Bible.

* * *

(There were at least two such communities in the U.S. Robert Owen, an early Utopian Socialist, founded New Harmony in Indiana in 1825, and Francois Fourier's Brook Farm was founded in West Roxbury, Mass., 1841 to 1847.)

Early Communists were called "communards" and they advocated self-government within dozens of communes and a federation of these communes was a nation. This was advocated in France in 1789, 59 years before Karl Marx and his Manifesto.

After 1917 the word "communism" described Lenin's interpretation of Marxist doctrine and it was continued by Joseph Stalin as the basis for the total change of man and society.

What is the Trotskyite relationship to the NDP?

Here, again, the distinction between

→ page 2

← from p. 1

Difficult Days with Castro, Trotsky and Anti-Planner

These have been rather difficult months for the New Democratic Party.

¶ *In November* the B.C. NDP youth section, New Democratic Youth, expelled eight and suspended three more members for "participating in the activities of an organization whose principles and policies are contrary to those of the New Democratic Youth." The contrary organization: the League for Socialist Action, a Trotskyite group. The League says the NDP program is inadequate—"reformist, when the task is revolutionary, that is, socialist"; a program of "patching capitalism up and making it more tolerable, instead of a perspective of fundamental change."

The League's paper, *Young Socialist Forum*, four of whose editors were among those expelled, says: "The 11 accused . . . support the Cuban Revolution; they have advocated nationalization; they have fought against the official policy which supports Canadian membership in NATO if the NDP is elected to power. They represent the core of socialist opinion within the youth movement." And, adds *Young Socialist Forum*, the label "Trotskyite" is a — ahem — red herring. The NDP insists at least one Leaguer is a known Trotskyite.

¶ *In December* the party that is still trying to patent economic planning lost Dr. David Gauthier, 30, professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto. A ban-the-bomber, Gauthier said the advantages of supporting the NDP were not enough to justify that support at the expense of the Liberals: "The superiority of the New Democratic emphasis and methods seems to be marginal at best." Added he: the NDP concept of economic planning contains dangerous possibilities of over-centralization and bureaucratic interference.

¶ *Last Month* Cedric Cox, NDP MLA for Burnaby, B.C., flew to Cuba to help Fidel Castro and friends celebrate the fourth anniversary of the arrival in Havana of the bearded 26th of July Movement army. As a member of Vancouver's Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Cox was a guest of Castro. Now the NDP were rather nervously wondering what he was up to. Said Robert Strachan, provincial NDP leader: "Rather than traipsing off to Cuba he should apply himself more diligently to B.C. problems." Retorted Cox from Havana: "None of their business. It's time the NDP got off the Red-baiting tack."

All in all, difficult months.

the Trotskyite and the Moscow Communist is brought out. The NDP constitution specifically bars members of the Communist Party of Canada. It discourages far-left Socialist organizations which could be described as Trotskyite. Individual Trotskyites, however, not admitting any other political affiliation, frequently become members and are tolerated as long as they are not disruptive. This tolerance was far greater in the early days of the CCF, when it was a party of doctrinaire Socialists, than it is today when it seeks to project an image of left-wing reform rather than radical socialism.

* * *

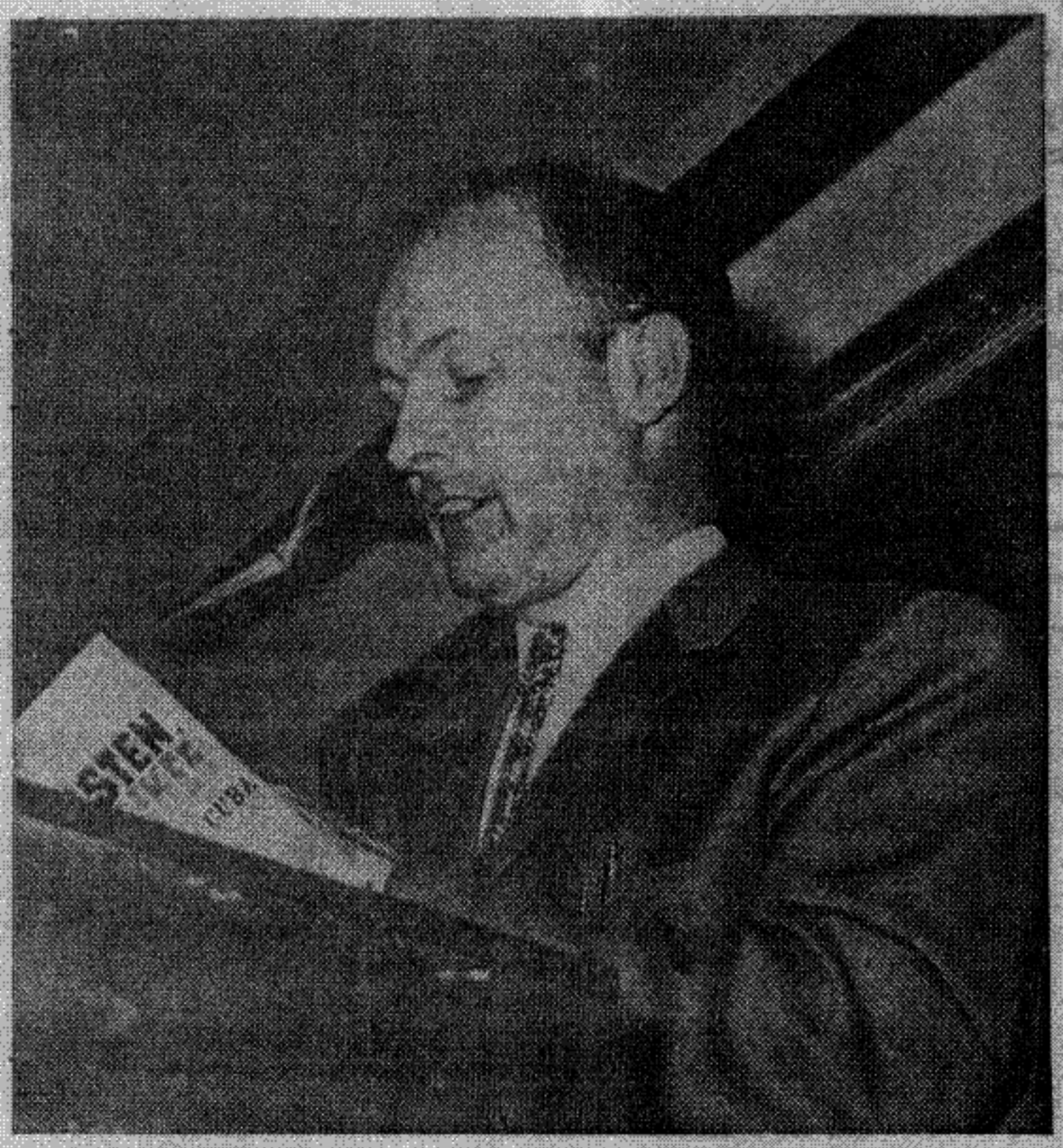
While Trotskyites can be found in the NDP, another organization, the League for Socialist Action, is generally accepted to be a Trotskyite organization.

League secretary, Ross Dowson, and a perennial Toronto mayoralty candidate, said in Toronto recently: "Needless to say, in the NDP, as in any other political party, there are diverse political organizations, currents and tendencies.

"The existence (within the NDP) of the League for Socialist Action, the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship in Alberta, the New Left Association in Quebec, is a tribute to the profoundly popular character of the NDP."

Actually, the NDP (and the Communist Party) resist these organizations and term them Trotskyite groups "which are attempting to discredit the NDP by their unwanted association." As pointed out, individuals not mentioning this association, find their way into the NDP.

(Found in 1963)



Ross Dowson, perennial mayoralty candidate and self-styled Trotskyite, gets moral support from the written word in facing the Socialist Forum Wed. VSP Musgrove

Communists Too Right Wing Trotskyites Back New Party

By LEN SHIFRIN

"We support the New Party 100 percent", announced Trotskyite spokesman Ross Dowson, addressing Wednesday's meeting of the Socialist Forum. "The Communist Party is too right wing."

Repeating Engel's call for "a democratic revolution brought about by force", Dowson denied the possibility of peaceful evolution to socialism. He predicted that the New Party would ultimately become a revolutionary party of the working class.

Citing the recent general strike in Belgium, Dowson contended that the end of colonialism heralded the beginning of a new phase in the class struggle. The spoils of colonial exploitation had allowed for the "bourgeoisification" of the workers at home. Denied their largess, capitalist governments would enforce austerity programs on the workers, thus intensifying the class struggle. "This is the end of the road for Reformism", he declared.

The Cuban Revolution, he said, was "one of the most important events in the history of mankind", and an inspiration to the working class of America. It proved that a humanist revolution must, in order to achieve its ends, become a socialist revolution.

Roaming far and wide, Dowson condemned the "bureaucratism" of the Soviet Union; praised both the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Winnipeg Comune of 1919; declared Keynes and Galbraith to be "half-baked economists; branded Khruschov a Revisionist; called M. J. Coldwell, David Lewis and Hugh Gaitskill traitors to the working class; and announced that "Claude Jodoin must go!"

Although admitting the Trotskyite following to be relatively small at present, Dowson asserted that it was not a cult, but a world-wide movement on the ascendency.

Staff members for Otherside '61, the supplementary magazine put out by the Varsity, are urgently needed.

Plans for the magazine are going ahead, but the final decision on its publication will not be made until sufficient material and staff are guaranteed, it was announced last night by Varsity Editor, Ed Roberts.

Writers for features, profiles and miscellaneous work are all required. Those interested may contact Executive Editor Brian McCutcheon (Knox), c/o The Varsity office or at WA. 1-4344.

Halt Construction Of York Building, May Issue Court Order

York University's construction plans for its Glendon Hall building have been temporarily stopped by North York building inspectors.

The building work was started without the necessary building permits from the Ontario Municipal Board, and must be halted until the Board grants the university special exemption from North York's zoning bylaw, Reeve Norman Goodhead stated.

"If they don't stop work, we'll take them to court like anyone else," Reeve Goodhead said.

However township building inspectors feel prosecution will be unnecessary as long as no further construction takes place. Excavation and cement work for the footings were underway when the order was issued.

North York council has set up a special committee encouraging the university, and hopes to have the matter returned to the OMB Monday.

The Board adjourned the case last Friday in the face of complaints of local homeowners and the Metro Conservation Authority.

Residents objected to the construction of university dormitories several stories high, which would lower property values and encourage private apartment building, while the Conservation Authority opposed plans to locate the buildings on the slopes of the Don Valley.

Hold Meeting Of Overseas Volunteers

The first orientation meeting for the Canadian Overseas volunteers will be held Saturday, Feb. 4th in the Debates Room at Hart House (*not* Room 6, UC, as was previously announced).

All interested men and women who missed the Monday information meeting deciding on candidates to go work for underprivileged countries are welcome to attend.

Men and women may present candidatures as potential volunteers or simply to investigate this idea, with no obligation.

For further information, contact Keith Spicer at RU. 1-8254.

CONDUCT

AND

Assistant Cor

UNIVERSITY OF TOR
SYMPHONY ORCHES
UNIVERSITY OF TORON

Applications for the above positions shou
undersigned not later than February 6th.

M. C. Knowlton,
Associate Secretary,
Students' Administra

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Time is Short! NDP Must Rally the People! Hold Mass Meetings!

Stop the Drive to Nuclear Arm Canada!

By The Editors

The drive to nuclear arm Canada has more sharply differentiated the NDP from the Liberals and Conservatives in the public's mind than any other issue since it was founded in the summer of 1961. The first reaction of the leaders of the NDP has been to condemn the parties of big business and reiterate the party's stand against the bomb, thus carrying the fight to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and the further commitment of the Canadian people to the aggressive military strategy of the U.S. State Department.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas reacted to Pearson's speech by calling for new elections before "any final commitments are made for the acquisition of nuclear arms."

When other party leaders followed suit it became apparent that, as Val Scott, NDP candidate for York Centre (Toronto) put it, "At last Canadians have a clear-cut opportunity to make up their minds on this vital subject, with the Liberals now in favor, the Conservatives apparently leaning towards them and only the NDP clearly and adamantly opposing the spread of nuclear weapons."

Now the record has been made. But more is required to block the recently stepped-up arms drive. This issue has raised all kinds of doubts about the old line parties and caused widespread concern among hundreds of thousands of people in all walks of life across the country.

It has sown dissention even in the ranks of the Liberal party, with at least two of their former candidates leaving to join the NDP.

Within the anti-war movements a new clarity of purpose has emerged because of the crisis revolving around the arms issue. The leaders of the Canadian Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, who formerly believed that the Liberals opposed A-arms, have now expressed "shock and disappointment" at Pearson's speech. The Voice of Women has affirmed its opposition to nuclear weapons in Canada and sharply disassociated itself from those who, along with Mrs. Pearson, said the Liberal stand is consistent with the aims of VOW.

The NDP must become a mighty voice in the discussions now going on. It must take the issue to the people, must explain and popularize its stand. Through mass rallies and extensive educational campaigns it can mobilize the people to stop the arms drive. In the course of this campaign greater interest in the NDP and what it stands for will develop. Opportunities will be opened for the party to take new forward strides and overcome the demoralization that has eaten at its ranks in the past years.

This job now confronting the NDP will be all the easier if the leadership verifies the position worked out following a long debate at the founding convention, that if NATO or its members individually possess or control nuclear weapons then "Canada must make it clear that it cannot remain in the alliance." Now that General Norstad has revealed that NATO is nuclear armed and that Canadian forces are committed to nuclear equipment it is necessary to call for withdrawal from this alliance. Failure to do so undermines the demand that Canada itself not be nuclear armed.

By being consistent and not equivocating on this point the issue is put clear and simple—for or against continuing the arms race that threatens to lead to nuclear holocaust? The job of uniting the people against the arms drive, of exposing the propaganda of the cold war, can now be done in an effective way. The campaign must be got underway immediately.

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DEFIANCE BY BC MLA COX SETBACK TO NDP WITCH HUNT

By Ernest Tate

VANCOUVER—The right-wing attack upon the socialist wing of the New Democratic Party broke out on a new front last week when Cedric Cox, NDP MLA (Burnaby), at present on a visit to Cuba, was the subject of a series of vicious attacks made to the daily press by NDP provincial leaders Robert Strachan and Fred Vulliamy. This latest campaign by the right-wing comes but only a few weeks after eleven members of the NDY were secretly summoned to a closed executive meeting and thrown out of the youth movement.

Cedric Cox is chairman of the Vancouver Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He was invited to Cuba as a representative of the committee by the Cuban government for the celebrations of the fourth anniversary of the revolution and to see Cuba.

Strachan, insinuating that Cox had been neglectful of his constituents and was being "bought" by the Cuban government, charged that "rather than traipsing to Cuba, he should apply himself more diligently to BC problems. . . ." Sounding off like a "big daddy" he stated that, "I am going to have a talk with him when he returns and doubtless the trip will be discussed by the executive." There have been suggestions that Cox may be expelled when he comes back.

Cox's constituency has been quick to come to his defense and the Edmonds NDP club in Burnaby, in conjunction with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local 9-601, are sponsoring a meeting for him at the Capitol Hill Hall on Monday, January 21st, the day after he returns. A large turnout is expected.

The NDP leadership's public campaign against Cox, when he was out of the country and unable to defend himself, reeks of rank opportunism. Paddy Sherman, a leading political columnist in the Vancouver Province was quick to point out how the whole attack was handled in a "politically shrewd" manner. He suggested that a major effort may be made by the right-wing to wrest the nomination from Cox next election.

The response in the ranks of the party to the brass's campaign against Cox was immediate. The attack was so brazen that BC-NDP MP Harold Winch rallied to Cox's side to defend his freedom to travel.

Refuting the canard that Cox was neglecting his responsibility to his constituency, Winch stated that Cox "is one of the few elected members who spends full time on the job of being an MLA." "The NDP is a democratic organization," Winch said, "and nobody tells an individual what he shall or shall not do, or what country they may visit . . . I don't know what Strachan has in mind or why he said what he did—but nobody pulls dictatorship in the NDP."

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The December 7th North Shore NDP Constituency membership voted to support the three expelled members who belong to their association, and maintain them with full membership rights. The constituency voted to condemn the whole action of the youth executive in expelling the eleven and called upon the adult provincial NDP executive to intervene and provide a fair trial.

A number of delegates to the provincial council of the NDP were instructed by some of their clubs to oppose the expulsions. Point Grey constituency, even though their delegate to the council supported the youth executive's action, mandated the delegate to vote for a fair trial for the youth.

George Pembleton, in the December issue of the **Western Pulp and Paper Worker**, published by the Western Canada Council of the Pulp and Paper Mill Unions in B.C., expressed a widespread rank and file sentiment about the expulsions when he commented at length on a letter one of the expelled had received from the youth executive. Pembleton refers in his column to a portion of the

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Scores of demonstrators march to rally against nuclear weapons, held at Unitarian Church in Toronto on Jan. 20, last day of the Conservative Party's national convention. The main theme of the rally which attracted several hundred persons, mainly youth, was for a nation-wide referendum asking the people to decide whether or not Canada should be nuclear armed.

Pearson Pressures For Speed-Up of Arms Race

By Paul Macpherson

Lester Pearson took Canada another big stride towards joining the U.S. dominated nuclear club and further projected the world in the direction of nuclear destruction when, in his recent major policy speech in Toronto, he definitely committed the Liberal Party to atomic warheads for Canadian forces both at home and abroad.

In revealing the position the party has actually long held, in tossing aside the reservations the Liberals have previously expressed, Pearson tried to make out that the Tories had forced his and any other Canadian government's hand. "The (Conservative) government must have decided back in 1959 that the two Bomarc bases are important links in the continental defense," he stated. "We Liberals at the time thought they were wrong in this, but the decision was made for Canada" he continued.

Announcing a heretofore unheard of doctrine that all future governments, Tory, Liberal or NDP, are bound by the actions of all past governments, he stated that "Our friends have the same right to assume that the commitments of Canada are the commitments of the nation; that they will not automatically disappear with a change of government."

The secret deal made by the Tories was brought out into the open by the retiring NATO commander, General Lauris Norstad, who provoked a national scandal when he declared that they had committed Canada to acceptance of nuclear weapons, and pointed out that almost all NATO countries, including West Germany, now have these arms under U.S. control.

Norstad's statements were quickly confirmed by Canadian Air Chief Marshal Frank Miller and by the former chairman of the Canadian chiefs of staff, General Charles Foulkes.

The recent Conservative convention in Toronto indicates that the government intends to carry through the deal arranged with the Pentagon, leaving Diefenbaker certain room to "maneuver" as he requested.

Liberal actions have spoken louder than their many words designed to suggest in some way that they have been opposed to the Bomarc and the nuclear war-

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Protests Mount Against Witch-Hunt in BC NDP

(Continued from Page 1)

letter which reads that the executive "must consider that you (the expelled member) voted against the formal resolution in support of the principles and policies of the New Democratic Party at the recent youth convention."

Pembleton writes, "Shades of Adolph Hitler, cannot one vote against a resolution at a convention now? As I have said, I am a member of the NDP and intend to remain one unless kicked out, but I also believe that people within an organization should have the right to dissent from the opinions of the executive or the majority of the members if they so desire.

"Are we to become an ossified organization in which nothing can be changed, no policy can be objected to, no contrary opinion can be voiced because the executive might not like it?

"If so I do not doubt that that organization will soon be dead and very deservedly buried.

"I would like to suggest to readers of this column (if any) who belong to the New Democratic Party that they take it up in their New Democratic Party clubs that the action of the executive of the New Democratic Youth be formally protested to that organization and also to the provincial executive of the New Democratic Party."

An indication of the extent of alarm in the membership over the youth expulsions and the Cox incident was demonstrated by the January 7th special meeting of the NDP Delta constituency organization called to discuss the possible expulsion of Bill Fomich.

Fomich had been a municipal councillor. At last July's meeting, when only a handful of members were in attendance, the executive got a vote to expel Fomich and recommend this action to the provincial executive.

The charges were that he had at one time signed the nomination papers for a Communist Party candidate and had run on a Socred slate. Neither were substantiated. The provincial executive turned the ball back to the constituency executive and suggested that they call a special meeting of the membership to discuss it.

A special meeting was called and attempts were made by the leadership to stack the meeting. But news of the expulsions and the further news of Strachan's attack on Cox caused the membership to turn out in force to discover for themselves what was happening to the party.

When the vote was finally called the overwhelming body of the meeting voted against the constituency executive — it was 100 to 10—with only the table officers voting for their own motion. The meeting also instructed its representative on the provincial NDP council to vote against the youth executive's position.

At the January 12th provincial council meeting the question of the expelled eleven and Strachan's anti-Cox statements were the subject of much discussion among the delegates even though these matters never got on the floor as such. The executive made sure of that. The expelled youth, who have constituted themselves as a committee, distributed an open letter to the delegates which took issue with statements released by Vulliamy to the press.

The Lonsdale, North Shore, Point Grey and Burnaby constituencies had written letters of protest to the council asking them to intervene and reverse the youth executive's position. There were also letters on the question of Cox and one from the BC Federation of Labour on the speech Strachan made at Duncan attacking the trade-union movement.

Most meetings have the item "correspondence" at the beginning of the agenda. That's the democratic way. But not the method of the BC provincial executive of the NDP. As soon as the meeting came to order at 10.00 a.m., the executive quickly moved that the question of correspondence be moved down the agenda and taken up again at 3.30 p.m.—an hour and a half before adjournment. Despite a large protest the motion carried.

The board-room at the NDP headquarters in Vancouver was packed. Over forty delegates from all over the province had gathered. Twelve of the delegates were executive members. Some of the delegates had come specifically to discuss the Cox incident and the expulsions. There were over forty rank and file members of the NDP in the audience.

Finally at 4.00 p.m. the matter of correspondence was put on the agenda. The letters were read and the question of Strachan's attacks on Cox was referred to the NDP parliamentary caucas by the right wing. John Macy, the expelled youth's defence lawyer, took the floor and demanded to know why his correspondence to the council was not read out. He charged that it was "being suppressed on purpose."

Many of the delegates to the meeting left in a disgruntled mood. Dave Stupich, Nanaimo and the Islands delegate, at one point in the proceedings, when the financial quota for the various constituencies was being discussed, declared that he couldn't accept a quota until they knew whether or not any action was going to be taken on the matter of the expulsions. John Sawicki, Terrace delegate, informed the gathering that he was sick of having to face his membership at home and telling them that the big questions confronting the party "were shoved under the rug."

The council endorsed the decision of the provincial executive not to intervene and reverse the Youth executive's decision. The expelled youth will now be forced to appeal through the youth section.

Fred Vulliamy declared that the youth are still members of the adult party and have all membership rights. This is contrary to the wishes of the youth section executive who had appealed this ruling in a letter to the council. Some of the right-wing youth have declared that they are going to proceed to lay charges in the adult movement before the provincial executive.

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POLICE CRACK DOWN ON ANTI-BOMB DEMONSTRATORS

In the biggest crackdown in recent years, Toronto police on Dec. 22 roughly broke up an anti-nuclear weapons demonstration and arrested 21 persons—including a passing postman and a shopper.

The demonstration in front of city hall, a traditional site of protest demonstrations, was branded by police as an "unlawful assembly". An additional charge of "creating a disturbance by shouting" was levelled at speakers at the rally.

The defending lawyer in their court case, which has been remanded until Feb. 1, is NDP member of parliament Andrew Brewin.

The demonstration, which had earlier picketed the Liberal and Conservative headquarters, was organized by the Youth Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, an ad hoc committee comprised of several youth organizations, including the New Democratic Youth, the Canadian High School Students for Disarmament, and the Committee of 100.

Among the demands their signs voiced were "No Military Alliance with Nuclear-Armed Nations"; "No Nuclear Weapons for Canada"; and "Let the People Vote on Nuclear Arms".

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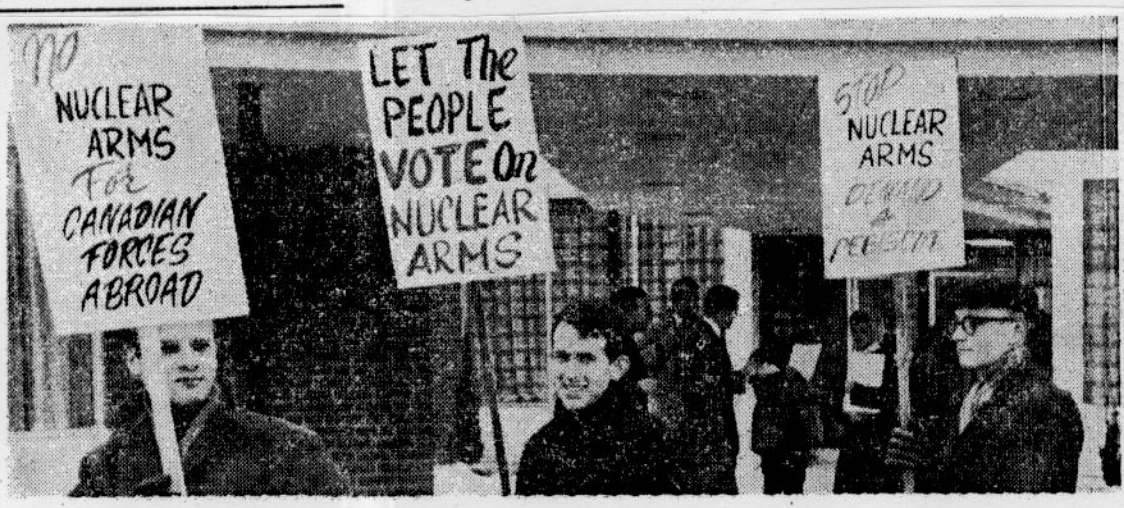

Wherever Pearson went in Toronto on the day he gave his infamous speech committing the Liberals to nuclear weapons, New Democratic Youth showed up to picket. Shortly after they launched a petition asking the government to issue a referendum on the question of whether Canada should or should not have nuclear weapons. They aim t have other organizations co sponsor the petition and gathe several hundred thousand signa tures.

NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADIANS

The Workers Vanguard

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Kennedy Breaks Govt. Dief Rallies Machine

By Ross Dowson

Canada isn't a banana republic, state still fairly common in tin America where the workers d farmers are ruthlessly op-ressed by a puppet, controlled the U.S. State Department on half of the United Fruit Com-ny. The Canadian capitalist ss rule Canada, as partners, ior partners, with the Ameri-n capitalists. But today that esn't mean that a government n't going to be treated like a oge head of a banana republic, Canada's Prime Minister John efenbaker learned this month, ly a few weeks after the humi-tion of Britain's Prime Minister cmillan.

With supreme arrogance, with ter contempt, not only of the nadian people, but of a govern-ent which has done its level st by it, U.S. ruling circles in-rvened in the debate that has en going on amongst the Cana-an people as to whether Cana-an forces should be armed with clear weapons. And it wasn't half-thought out statement by a nor official but bore the un-istakeable imprint of the State partment.

This outrageous intervention signed to end the debate and pose nuclear arms under U.S. ntrol on Canada, brought about e resignation of the defence inister, resulted in the downfall the government, caused a crisis the Tory party that has re-lted in the resignation of Trade inister Hees and Associate De-ence Minister Sevigny, is having idespread repercussions in the beral Party, and the end of it by no means in sight.

And it isn't at all that the efenbaker government hasn't en doing right by the Pentagon d the State Department. Diefen-aker has had problems, problems mmon to all governments sub-ct to elections—made somewhat re sensitive in that his govern-nt is a minority government ed with an election—with ving to go to the people—at y moment. In their arrogance U.S. ruling circles demon-rate a total absence of concern out such problems.

As veteran U.S. socialist Tom rry wrote in the Militant at the e of Macmillan's mortification: aving tasted the fruit of cold r victory in nuclear confronta-n of the Soviet Union during e height of the Cuban crisis ncle Sam has flexed his muscles d bluntly asserted the right of erican imperialism to reign as disputed defender, champion d chief beneficiary of the world pitalist order."

There is a lot of talk going the nds that the Diefenbaker vernment has had no coherent consistent policy on nuclear rms, that it has been a bumbling vernment. But there is no truth this talk. While he let External fairs Minister Green emit his milies, and so allay the fears the Canadian people, Diefen-ker took Canada down the path nuclear armament. In 1957 his government agreed to the estab-lishment of stockpiles of nuclear warheads in NATO nations. The next year his government decided it would provide aircraft that to be fully effective would require nuclear weapons, and later the same year agreed to the installa-tion of Bomarcs in Canada.

If there are some "leaders" who thought that in 1961 NATO was non-nuclear or were taken in by Green, that is proof of their gullibility. The record sustains Diefenbaker's challenge to the house on Jan. 25; "we undertook to equip our squadrons assigned to NATO for a strike reconnais-ance role, which role would in-

(See Page 2—BOSSES FEAR)

LABOR VIGOROUSLY OPPOSES A-BOMB

Canada's largest labor coun-cil, the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing some 120,000 unionists, vigor-ously re-affirmed its opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces at its Feb. 8 meeting. The motion, in line with the official position of the CLC (AFL-CIO), came from Local 28 of the Autoworkers and was passed by a 10 to 1 vote.

While it was presented with the approval of the executive, two of the 12 man body, W. D. Kearns of the Hotel Employees Union and Max Federman of the Fur Workers, a leading member of the NDP, spoke in opposition.

Federman called the CLC policy a "grave mistake" and urged acceptance of nuclear arms, "otherwise," he said, "we have no place in NATO." "Then let's get out of NATO!" shouted several delegates.

NDP Leader T. C. Douglas Blasts U.S. Intervention

"In the opinion of the members of the New Democratic party the statement issued yesterday by the United States state department constitutes an unwarranted and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Canada.

It is unusual for a state department to issue a statement contra-dicting statements made in a house of commons by the prime minister of another country. It is even more unusual to have the release issued by the embassy here in Ottawa.

We in this party have very fundamental differences with the government on the questions of external affairs and defence policy, but we will not brook nor will any other group in Canada brook interference from the United States or from any other power in the discussion of our internal affairs.

I think the government of the United States should know from this parliament that they are not dealing with Guatemala, where in 1954 the state department had a substantial hand in throwing out the Arbenz government; nor are they dealing with Cuba, where in 1961 they promoted, financed and mounted an invasion of that country which was an inexcusable interference in the affairs of another member of the organization of American states, an action, I may say, which was in my opinion taken for no other reason than to make the world safe for the United Fruit Company and the

(See Page 6—NDP LEADER)

Is The Key Issue In Apr. 8 Election

By The Editors

The key issue in the federal elections coming up on April 8 is whether or not Canadian forces at home and abroad are to be nuclear armed. The steady pace at which the Canadian government has been preparing the arms build-up no longer satisfies the financial oligarchy that rules the U.S., their junior partners in Canada, and their political spokesmen in Washington and Ottawa. Now they want the bomb itself.

The eyes of the opponents of the nuclear arms drive the world over are focused on Canada. This election comes at a time when every decision has been made to nuclear arm Canada but the last, the final one. On April 8th the people of Canada have the opportunity to block this decision, to deal a powerful blow against the war drive and open up new roads in the struggle for peace.

The Toronto Globe and Mail, a long-time supporter of the Conserva-tive Party, reflected the thinking prevalent in the political circles of Big Business when it reluctantly noted "It is probably inevitable that the nuclear arms issue will be prominent in the coming election campaign" and wailed "the best that can be hoped is that candidates will treat it . . . with restraint." This is a question of such vital importance that they don't want it to be handled in open and honest debate.

Whatever the differences among the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit, both real and alleged, they have one position in common. Regardless of how they try to talk around the question, they all have the policy of forwarding the arms drive. What differences they have on this question are based on how to trick and deceive the Canadian people so that the deed can be done with the least difficulty and under the auspices of their own particular party machine.

Liberal leader Pearson recently removed the mask that his party has long worn to reveal it as being more openly than any other in favor of nuclear weapons—all in the name of "honouring our commit-ments." But even he would mislead the people by claiming that, once here, negotiations would immediately begin with the U.S. government to remove the warheads to which the Tories have committed Canada. If it were actually their desire to not acquire them, as they try to make, out, they would demand negotiations to stop them from coming in now.

Social Credit, apparently not too concerned with even appearing to be politically honest, is dishing out two diametrically opposite posi-tions. National leader Thompson, after repeatedly echoing Pearson's line in parliament, and having proposed a coalition with the "nuclear arms now" dissidents in the Tory party, has given the go-ahead to co-leader Caouette to tour Quebec saying "We are against nuclear arms, whether it be in Canada or outside the country."

Diefenbaker, sensitive to the popular opposition to nuclear arms, has tried to leave the impression that he too now has reservations and doubts—of a strictly practical character. But while he was prime minister, the Tory government brought into Canada and provided for Canadian NATO forces in Europe, weapons that are useless without nuclear warheads. Since November they have secretly negotiated with the U.S. government for the warheads themselves. Step by step, making deals behind closed doors, they have slowly but surely drawn Canada closer towards joining the nuclear club. By waiting until the NATO conference in Ottawa this May before making the final decision, and by claiming he will be "flexible" in making his decision, Diefenbaker wants to suggest a reluctance and reasonableness. His primary con-cern is not whether to bring them in or not. He has decided that. His problem now is what kind to bring in, when to time it, and how to do it in a way that will raise the least opposition.

Withdraw from NATO!

The NDP is the only party that has taken a clear stand against nuclear weapons. This sharply demarks it from all the parties of capital.

The NDP must now take full advantage of the new situation, a situation that offers the greatest opportunities to set back the arms build-up which threatens to result in an obliterating world war three.

The Canadian people fear war and nuclear involvement. They aspire to see Canada play a role on the international arena independent of the U.S. which they distrust, and one that is in the interests of humanity. These aspirations can take on flesh and blood. By empha-sizing no nuclear arms for Canada as the key issue in its nationwide campaign the NDP can mobilize tremendous support in the ranks of the Canadian people.

Although inspiring possibilities now exist, it is not as yet clear that the NDP leadership will take full advantage of the new situation.

The party leadership appears to be fearful of facing up to the logic of the situation. When Liberal leader Paul Martin challenged NDPer Tom Berger in the house on January 31 that "he does not believe in NATO," Berger cried out "I resent the cheap political insinuation'."

The founding convention of the NDP decided that should NATO become nuclear armed Canada should withdraw from it. If there was any doubt then as to whether this military alliance with its nuclear strategy was nuclear armed, there are none now. Yet NDP deputy leader David Lewis stated in the house as the party's stand "a non-nuclear role in the western alliance, staying in NATO and giving our best . . ."

To consistently oppose commitment to the nuclear arms drive re-quires withdrawal from NATO, for even some kind or formula of a non-nuclear role for Canada locks it into a nuclear alliance under the absolute control of the Pentagon. The NDP leadership should not hesitate to now declare that the party is for Canadian withdrawal from NATO—an aggressive military alliance directed against the Soviet Union and designed to uphold colonialism abroad and sustain capital-ism on the European continent. To acquiese to Canadian participation in a nuclear armed NATO is to gravely weaken the party's demand that Canada have no nuclear arms either at home or abroad.

The party is now being tested, measured as to what its present capacity is and to what its potential for the future is. Now is the time to call off the witch-hunt against the socialists that in recent months has plagued the party in BC and threatens to boil up in Ontario. The enemies are the parties of capitalism. United in opposition to nuclear arms both at home and abroad all members and supporters of the NDP should join and work in the campaign with all the strength at their command.

A tremendous support rallied behind the NDP, no matter how it may be reflected in the number of seats in the commons, can halt Canada's commitment to the nuclear arms drive. The Canadian people can strike a blow for peace on April 8 that will echo around the globe.

The Workers Vanguard #83-Feb. 1963

NDP Leader T. C. Douglas Blasts U.S. Intervention

"In the opinion of the members of the New Democratic party the statement issued yesterday by the United States state department constitutes an unwarranted and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Canada.

It is unusual for a state department to issue a statement contradicting statements made in a house of commons by the prime minister of another country. It is even more unusual to have the release issued by the embassy here in Ottawa.

We in this party have very fundamental differences with the government on the questions of external affairs and defence policy, but we will not brook nor will any other group in Canada brook interference from the United States or from any other power in the discussion of our internal affairs.

I think the government of the United States should know from this parliament that they are not dealing with Guatemala, where in 1954 the state department had a substantial hand in throwing out the Arbenz government; nor are they dealing with Cuba, where in 1961 they promoted, financed and mounted an invasion of that country which was an inexcusable interference in the affairs of another member of the organization of American states, an action, I may say, which was in my opinion taken for no other reason than to make the world safe for the United Fruit Company and the

(See Page 6—NDP LEADER)

(Continued from Page 1)

Standard Oil Company in order that the latter might continue their policies of commercial exploitation.

Mr. Speaker, there are two parts of this statement which was issued yesterday to which I think the house ought to have its attention drawn. The first is this:

"The provision of nuclear weapons to Canadian forces would not involve an expansion of independent nuclear capability, or an increase in the nuclear club. As in the case of other allies, custody of U.S. nuclear weapons would remain with the U.S., joint control fully consistent with national sovereignty can be worked out to cover the use of such weapons by Canadian forces."

That is the end of the statement. I wish to point out first, Mr. Speaker, that this is not the view which the United States took when nuclear missiles, presumably under the control of the Soviet Union, were stationed in Cuba. The United States quite properly took the position at that time that this was an extension of the nuclear club, and that it did alter the balance of nuclear power.

May I point out, second, that it is for the Canadian people, through their elected representatives, to decide whether or not the acquisition of nuclear arms will expand the nuclear club and increase the danger of nuclear war. We in this party contend that stopping the spread of nuclear arms is a prelude to securing a cessation of nuclear tests and to reaching a treaty on nuclear disarmament. This is a Canadian decision, which has to be taken by Canadians and any attempt by any outside government to dictate to Canadians what their policy should be regarding the acquisition of nuclear arms will be both resented and ignored.

The other sentence in this statement to which I should like to draw the attention of the house is this:

"A flexible and balanced defence requires increased conventional forces, but conventional forces are not an alternative to effective NATO or NORAD defence arrangements using nuclear-capable weapons systems."

That is shown by the fact that other members of the alliance have not accepted nuclear weapons. If the Canadian people want to decide, as we think they should decide, upon a non-nuclear role for Canada, that is a decision which they have a right to make without any advice or any attempted intimidation from outside.

LABOR VIGOROUSLY OPPOSES A-BOMB

Canada's largest labor council, the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing some 120,000 unionists, vigorously re-affirmed its opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces at its Feb. 8 meeting. The motion, in line with the official position of the CLC (AFL-CIO), came from Local 28 of the Autoworkers and was passed by a 10 to 1 vote.

While it was presented with the approval of the executive, two of the 12 man body, W. D. Kearns of the Hotel Employees Union and Max Federman of the Fur Workers, a leading member of the NDP, spoke in opposition.

Federman called the CLC policy a "grave mistake" and urged acceptance of nuclear arms, "otherwise," he said, "we have no place in NATO." "Then let's get out of NATO!" shouted several delegates.

The Workers Vanguard #83 - Feb. 1963

DEBATE ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AT—

Alta. NDP Leadership Convention

by J. Johns

Edmonton—The sharpest policy dispute to hit the floor of the two-day NDP leadership convention, held here over the January 26-27 weekend, was on electric power. A last minute resolution was submitted by the provincial council "reaffirm(ing) our objective of establishing a public power system to include both the production and distribution of electrical power," but adding "as a first step in gaining such an objective . . . establishing a Crown Corporation to be the sole purchaser and distributor of electrical power."

To many of the delegates it was clear that this second paragraph was an attempt to purge from the program at the same time as it tipped its hat to it, the party's traditional commitment to public ownership of the whole power system, including the production plants. This attempt to commit the party to liberal-reformism, in a province where the Liberal party is advocating public ownership, roused heated discussion. Several attempts were made to close the discussion but things got out of control. Mainly as a result of fine speeches by Nellie Peterson, who had moved the amendment to eliminate the clause, and by Floyd Johnson, the paragraph was deleted by a small majority.

Over a dozen pages of resolutions had been submitted by the constituencies and affiliate clubs, including resolutions which criticized the leadership's stand (or, rather lack of stand) on the American victimization of the Cuban Revolution, and resolutions which questioned Canada's position in the Western Alliance. With the membership of the provincial council having been arranged, it was a simple matter to handle questions of policy; refer them to the council for decision.

At the end of the convention Dr. John MacDonald, of the University of Alberta Faculty Club and himself a member of the resolutions committee, made a speech claiming that there had been a deliberate and sustained attempt by the committee to prevent controversial resolutions coming before the convention. This confirmed the suspicion of many delegates that they had been systematically prevented from discussing policy questions.

On the surface the main purpose of the convention was to elect a provincial leader. But the two days which revealed the strength of a well organized and disciplined right wing faction, based mainly on the trade union bureaucracy, showed that this matter had already been settled before the delegates assembled. It had been arranged that Neil Reimer, a vice-president of the CLC and the local leader of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union was to get the job. Floyd Johnson, for five years the leader of the Alberta CCF, was nominated but in declining made a speech which was politely worded but made clear that he thought that the outcome was already determined and that he felt unable even to stand for the leadership of a party which was compromising on basic questions of socialist policy.

How did the right wing, which as is well known is opposed to the existence of any factions within the party except its own, set about arranging that only right people would be elected to the provincial council? A meeting of the union delegates, no doubt many of them handpicked by the brass, was held in the lunchtime which immediately preceded the elections and it was all worked out.

One final high-point of hypocrisy has to be mentioned. On Sunday, the delegates stood for two minutes of silence in memory of the Alberta socialist Bill Irvine—only 24 hours after an attempt had been made by Pat Lennehan, a vice-president of the Alberta Federation of Labor, to unseat the delegates from the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship.

There is no doubt that as a result of this convention there is widespread disillusionment and frustration in the constituencies in Alberta. There is for example much talk of organizing a mass exodus from the NDP and of the possibility of building an independent socialist party. That talk is so rife is a sign of sickness produced by the attempt of the right wing to detach the party from remnants of a democratic procedure and a socialist policy. But such actions would certainly be a big mistake.

Castro's Speech to Women's Conference

The following is a translation of the complete text of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's speech of January 16, 1963 to the Congress of American Women assembled in Havana. Delivered on the same day as Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov spoke before the East German Communist Party congress in Berlin, Castro's speech has been widely interpreted as a declaration of sympathy for the Chinese position in the Moscow-Peking dispute.

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Discussing some of the problems of the implementation of the national health plan now in operation in Cuba. Prior to the revolution women were discriminated against in the medical profession. "At this moment," Castro said to the delegates to the Havana conference, "in the first course of the School of Medicine, women account for 50% of the total enrolment."

Castro's Speech to Women's Conference
(followed by: Castro Comments on the Fight for Peace

(Published by Workers' Vanguard *and later as a pamphlet widely distributed by the L.S.A., Toronto, February 1963 – see cover page with photo of Fidel Castro and a leading companera among whom was Elena Gill, in charge of a youth school training revolutionary instructors – Ed.)*

The following is a translation of the complete text of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's speech of January 16, 1963 to the Congress of American Women assembled in Havana. Delivered on the same day that Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov spoke before the East German Communist Party congress in Berlin, Castro's speech has been widely interpreted as a declaration of sympathy for the Chinese position in the Moscow-Peking dispute *(the then public polemic between the Russian and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies in which China challenged Russia's primacy among world "workers' states" with a somewhat more militant stance against world imperialism –Ed.).*

Castro:

Women of America, fraternal delegates from the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa who are visiting us –

In the first place I would like to say — I have already said it to some of the executive of the congress — that if this affair began a little late, it was not my fault (laughter), because this year is the "Year of Organization" (laughter). I was in the theatre at three minutes before nine (laughter and applause). We have a duty in this Year of Organization to be punctual; what happened was that the companeras of the congress had a great deal to discuss. I believe that they were discussing until seven or eight, more or less. Until eight and then some, they say (shouts and laughter), and for that reason this function started a little late. I simply state that it was not my fault.

It has been a very great honour for us, for our country, that Cuba was chosen for this congress. In our opinion it has been a very positive and serious event.

We have endeavored to be informed, to read the many reports presented to the congress. Our impression is that they are all very valuable for their seriousness, for the business-like approach to problems, for the enormous amount of data on the true situation in our continent.

Naturally, the subjects dealt with by the congress were limited to those questions which are related to the interests of women. But really! What is there that does not concern women in modern society? What is there that does not concern Latin American women and American women* regarding our social problem? (*American is used in Cuba as elsewhere in Latin America to indicate South as well as North America)

When we discuss the rights and aspirations of women, we see that we cannot have equality for women, nor justice for children nor rights for mothers and wives, if there is no revolution (applause). Within the world in which American women live, women must, of necessity, be revolutionary (applause).

Why must they be revolutionary? Because women constitute an essential part of each community. They are in the first place exploited workers, and as women are discriminated against.

And who are the revolutionists in human society? Who were they down through the ages? The most exploited, those who are discriminated against. Not only is a woman exploited as a worker when she works for a monopoly exploiter in an exploiting society; she is the most exploited worker, with the lowest wages, the poorest working conditions. She is the object of contradictions between her social function as a woman and the exploitation to which she is exposed.

For this reason, women logically are revolutionists. For this reason, women in our country are revolutionists (applause): because in our country a great number of women were exploited workers, exploited in order to enrich one class. Besides, they were discriminated against by other workers: many women did not even have the opportunity to work.

Companera Vilma has reported on activities which Cuban women have engaged in since the Revolution and on the benefits which they have received from the Revolution. The report was long, but even so it is possible that there were omissions in the report because the Revolution has done even more for the women. Not everything has been done that needs to be done, but we intend to keep struggling for the women.

Women are no longer discriminated against in our country, nor are Negroes. The Revolution has great significance for the Cuban women.

Within the Revolution, the Revolutionary Government is making every effort to open up more and more opportunities for women. For example, after nationalizing the middle and large businesses which sell shoes, clothing and hardware, the Minister of Domestic Trade was directed to select women as administrators for these businesses (applause). Some 4,000 administrators were selected for 4,000 centers of which 90% or more were women (applause).

No Discrimination Against Women

There is another fact, for example, which would not appear in the report of the President of the Federation of Women; a very well illustrated fact with regard to the increased participation of women in activities which were, for all practical purposes, forbidden to them before. In some professions like medicine, the number of women that entered this university faculty did not amount to 10% of the total enrollment. At this

moment, in the Institute of Basic Medical Sciences, that is to say the first course of the School of Medicine, women account for 50% of the total enrollment (applause).

These facts demonstrate how, in four years of Revolution, women are being incorporated into our social life, the life of their society, the life of their country, their environment.

Women also paraded together with our soldiers on the 2nd of January, contingents of military battalions of women; and in our army there are special areas where women work and lend their services.

The bourgeois concepts of women, the stigmatized concepts and concepts of discrimination, are disappearing from Cuban society, and the masses of women are aware of this fact. Prejudice is substituted by a new concept in which women are valued for their social activities, in some of which they are demonstrating exceptional ability. A wide field of activities has been opened up to them.

If you compare the information of the Cuban delegation with the information of the Latin American delegation, you will see great differences. For example, here (in Cuba) we are working on the problem of freeing women from domestic slavery, of creating conditions where it will be possible for them to become active in the production process, conditions where women gain, and the Revolution gains.

Within capitalist society, unemployment for millions of men inevitably results in the tendency to relegate women to limited economic activity. In a society such as ours, with the full development of all the resources of the nation and the planning of the economy, more and more hands are necessary for production. It is logical that the Revolution is preoccupied with creating these conditions: today the Revolution is establishing the greatest number of nurseries, school cafeterias, and creating conditions which free the women from the slavery of the kitchen (applause), such as the establishing of laundries.

It is obvious that the peak development of such institutions as nurseries, in certain circumstances, is limited by the resources at our disposal. This year emphasis is being placed on establishing workers' cafeterias in the principal factories of the country. Next year we will concentrate on establishing school cafeterias (applause).

The development of these institutions will permit women to become more active in production and in the life of their country; not only in economic activities hut also political and social activities (applause).

Need Latin American Revolution

Our country concerns itself with these problems today because women are in positions of power, thus enabling them to seek solutions to these problems.

The Cuban delegate has also spoken of the gigantic effort which the Resolution has made in the field of education. It is hardly necessary to speak about this; it is enough to see and feel the power of this movement, a movement. which has a great future in this country, a movement which brings to life the pledges of the Revolution, above all, the pledges for the future, by multiplying the number of children in the schools, by increasing the number of students in high school and university and by eradicating illiteracy; thereby permitting this country to forge ahead with the strength of a magnificent youth called to inherit the conditions created by the Revolution.

Our problem is no longer how to win the right to do all this, but rather how best to do it.

There is a difference in the situation facing the women of America today — represented at this Congress — and the situation facing the women of Cuba. The difference is that the Cuban women now have the opportunity to solve their problems but the women of America do not yet have the opportunity.

Our problems are different in that now it is not a question of opportunity but of how best to proceed. Now it is not a question of opportunity for some 100,000 young students with scholarships from the state, but a question of how best to organize them, how best to arrange for the most efficient schools. I do not mean that we no longer have much work to do, on the contrary: in the Revolution one has more and more work all the time.

The needs of the Revolution are being satisfied as they appear. For example, in the past few days close to 10,000 young campesinas (farm girls) arrived in the capital from Oriente province. Who would take charge of looking after these girls? In the past the Federation of Women have been in the fore in this work but they were responsible for the lodgings of the scholarship students; they did not have sufficient staff.

There was, however, a School for Teachers organized with a select group of young brigadistas (voluntary teachers), who had participated in the great campaign of alphabetization *(abolishing illiteracy--ed.)* in 1961, a school of 1,100 young people who were studying to be teachers. Companera Elena Gill, who is in charge of that school, is a great teacher because she knows how to educate (applause). She began with a group of 300 revolutionary instructors (applause), with 300 teachers taken from the nucleus of young people who volunteered to teach in the mountains — and began to train 300 revolutionary instructors for the night schools for girls who work in domestic service (applause).

That was the first school, but these 300 girls soon grew to 600 and with the help of these young people the Makarenko Pedagogic Institute was formed, an institute of 1,100 young people. Three hundred of this group were selected for special courses and with those 300 and the rest of the girls the problem of organizing the 10,000 campesinas from Oriente province was taken care of (applause).

Now we had the teachers: they were girls who had been alphabetizers**,** girls who had already studied a year, girls who already had some discipline, a sense of responsibility. It was an impressive sight to cross one of those avenues, where formerly the millionaires lived, and see groups of girls in their uniforms; farm girls who were going from one place to another, possibly to eat or to some class. And with them went, in her scholarship uniform, a girl, in some cases younger than the campesinas themselves; but she was the leader of the group, in charge of the house where they lived and was, besides, their teacher. They work and they study, and imagine how those girls will develop as a result of this responsibility, now that they are assigned serious tasks, now that they work methodically, combining studies with work.

Now we must organize another school for teachers, as well as a school of higher education; the Revolution has changed the course of instruction for teachers. Before, the teachers were picked exclusively from the cities, but the Revolution has changed this procedure, establishing a system which gives opportunities to all the girls and boys who wish to become teachers. This program begins in the mountains (applause).

We have in the mountains, at this moment, 5,000 young people who are starting their first year of studies to be teachers. Afterwards they will go to a school where they will study for two years and after this they will go to a school of higher education where they will study for another two years. Many of these teachers will come from campesino families, girls who have intimate knowledge of the mountains and the countryside.

We are also preparing accelerated courses for farm girls who are in 4th and 5th grade and who wish to be teachers. Of some 10,000 campesinas, we will select those with the most ability and send them to these schools.

Eventually we will have our Upper School Teachers Institute with 6,000, students, students who will teach while they are studying (applause).

This program is being realized with a determined group of people working in this field. Are there many competent people for this task? No, unfortunately, there are not many, but wherever there is a competent person in charge of any of these activities the work proceeds in a methodical manner.

We do not have many Elenas, but in the future we will have hundreds of them because many girls are being educated by her (applause). Every day there will be more schools and we will need more teachers to organize and direct these schools.

Thus the Revolution advances with its youth—it can do it. We now have the opportunity to begin. The fraternal delegates from Latin America have presented a true picture of the situation on the continent—it is truly dreadful. We believe that all those reports should be published in a pamphlet and distributed here and in Latin America.

They are the figures of oppression; the data concerning the number of children without schools, without teachers, undernourished; those painful figures of the small number of

children who ever reach sixth grade, of the small percentage who go to high school and to university.

The relative figures on infant mortality, resulting from the unsanitary conditions under which they live, the malnutrition, the lack of medical programs. These are not conditions which exist in Cuba today because today not a single child is left an invalid as a result of poliomyelitis (applause). Tens of thousands of children have been saved as a result of medical assistance, and we continue to develop more and more public health programs on a national scale. The number of beds in our hospitals have almost tripled; the resources allotted to public health have quintupled.

Today these are not our problems but the problems of a whole continent. Our problem is how to produce all that we need in order to overcome the poverty left us by imperialist exploitation. That is our problem.

Peaceful Transition and Fight for Peace

Great is our work, arduous, hard and difficult, and it is made more difficult with the tentacles of imperialism over us, with the incessant hostility of the most powerful and aggressive, imperialist nation in the world. Our problem is how best to advance this work; how to defend the Revolution and the sovereignty of this country and at the same time continue forward; that is our problem and not yours, women of America.

Your problem, and that of the people you represent, is how to create the opportunities for doing what we are doing (applause). We are sure that we will be victorious. Sooner or later, we are sure that we will overcome our difficulties with more or less sacrifice. We are sure that imperialism will not be able to defeat us (applause), because in this country there will never be a conquered people. There could be fallen or dead people but not conquered people (applause).

If, one day, the Yankee imperialists, making use of all their strength and resources, decide to destroy us, the most they will be able to say is: "We have destroyed them, but we have not defeated them" (applause).

This is how we Cubans think. The problem, I repeat, for us today, is to work and struggle. Your problem (in Latin America) is to struggle in order to work afterward (applause). The statistics are there, those cold terrible figures, those figures which UNESCO or FAO, or whatever other organizations of the U.N. produces statistics. These statistics say so many millions dead from hunger, from sickness, or so many million children without schools; so many million families without houses or so many million malnutrition cases. They give a life expectancy in the exploited countries half that of the life expectancy in the highly industrialized countries. The figures are there and they include the number dead; more than the casualties of any revolution (applause).

The number of people who die annually in Latin America, of those who die in a year from hunger and sickness without assistance, are more than those who would die freeing the people of Latin America (applause. Here, the struggle cost 20,000 lives but already has saved many times this number (applause).

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We can wait and they will keep piling up the statistics; millions of unhappy, exploited, dying; the figures are there, as a result of the feudal exploitation, of the imperialist exploitation. The problem should not be confined to the manipulation of figures or reproducing the figures on pictures or on graphs and in pamphlets: we must be thinking about how to change the situation (applause).

There are statistical experts but what we need are experts in changing the situation, expert in leading the people towards revolution (applause). That is the art of the revolutionists, the art which must be learned and must be developed — how to lead the masses into struggle! — because it is the masses who make history. But in order to make history we must lead the masses in struggle (applause).

This is the duty of the leaders of revolutionary organizations; to lead the masses along, to launch the masses into struggle (applause). That was what they did in Algeria (applause), and that is what the patriots are doing in South Viet Nam (applause). They have launched the masses forward into struggle with the correct methods, the correct tactics and they have won the greatest number possible to the struggle. And that is what we did, for power was not won by the four, or five, or six, or seven of us who one day were scattered here, but rather by the action of the masses unleashed by the struggle against the tyranny which culminated in the people's victory.

With regard to these questions there is a concept that we wish to clarify. There have been some vulgar theoreticians who have affirmed that Cuba made a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. This is to deny that in this country an army, rising out of the bowels of the people, routed a modern army, armed and instructed by Yankee Imperialism (applause). It is to deny that explosives and incendiary bombs fell upon our campesinos, upon our cities and upon our towns with "Made In U.S.A." signs on them. It is to deny the formidable struggle of our people; it is to deny **Playa Giron** *(location of the abortive invasion of Cuba at "Bay of Pigs" --ed.)* and those who fell there (applause).

It was not a peaceful transition but a transition of struggle, without which our country would not have made the transition. Without that heroic struggle, without the armed struggle of the Cuban people we would still, perhaps, have Sr. Batista with us "Made in U.S.A."

These are historic truths and we believe that at least on these historic truths we have the right to speak, and not have some theoretician from a distance tell us what happened here without having come here.

We must not blush when we say these things, nor must we say them in a low voice. It is necessary to speak loudly, in a way that will be heard, so that the truth will be heard

(applause); so that the people will hear, because those false interpretations of history tend to create that conformity which suits imperialism. They tend to create resignation, to create reformism and a policy of waiting for the Revolution.

These false interpretations of history do not fit in with the situation in the immense majority of Latin American countries, where the objective conditions exist and the imperialists certainly see it clearly enough. The objective conditions exist but the subjective factor is lacking.

The subjective conditions must be created and can only be created by objective truth and not by falsifying history. The subjective conditions will not be created by saying that a peaceful transition was made in a beatific way.

Await First Peaceful Transition

We are not dealing with cowards, but rather with people who are confused. We do not deny the possibility of a peaceful transition but we are still waiting for the first case — we do not say that it can't happen because we are not dogmatic.

We understand the continuous change in historic conditions and circumstances. We do not deny the possibility, but what we are saying is that here (in Cuba) we have not made a peaceful transition. What we protest is the use, by some, of the case of Cuba in order to confuse the revolutionists of other countries where objective conditions exist for the success of the Revolution and where they can do the same as we did here in Cuba (applause).

That the imperialist theoreticians are preoccupied with preventing revolutions is understandable, and that the imperialist theoreticians are forced to lie about the Cuban Revolution in order to trick and to falsify it, to say the most horrible things about it, to create fear in the minds of the people about revolutions, this is also understandable. But no one from a revolutionary position should try to create conformity or fear of revolutions — that is absurd. Let the theoreticians of imperialism preach conformity but let the theoreticians of revolution fearlessly preach revolution! (applause).

That is what we believe: that is what we said in the Second Declaration of Havana, a declaration that some revolutionary organizations in some brother countries received with honors, "the honor of the drawer," when it should have received the wide publication that it deserved. It is just as if we filed everything that you have discussed here: naturally if we don't want the masses to know then it should be filed. But if we tell the masses the true situation then we must also show them the way. We must lead them to the struggle because that road is much easier in many countries in Latin America than it was in Cuba.

We are not making irresponsible generalizations, nor do we wish to violate theory. We know that each country has specific problems and for that reason we do not generalize, but we say 'the majority.' We know that there are exceptions, we know that there are

countries where the objective conditions do not exist, but in the majority of Latin American countries they do exist. That is our opinion.

It is our duty to say it here because we have reason to hope that within the next forty years we will not meet again as now, the granddaughters of our delegation with the granddaughters of your delegation, discussing the same problems (applause).

On Peaceful Coexistence with the US

Our country faces difficult circumstances and great risks. We must not, like an ostrich, dig our heads in the soil, but we must see things as they are — we are going through a stage of great risks and great dangers. We have on the one side Yankee imperialism, the most aggressive power, the most powerful imperialism, which has schemed, as a fundamental proposition, to destroy this Revolution. We have on the other side circumstances which are adverse and unfavorable to the world revolutionary movement.

For us, the Caribbean crisis has not been solved (applause). In our opinion, in the opinion of the revolutionary leadership of our country, a war has been avoided but peace has not been attained. They are not the same.

Is it possible that circumstances did not justify the actions and the steps that we took? Is it not possible that the declared policy of hostility and aggression against our country by Yankee imperialism does not exist? We have no confidence in the promises of Kennedy, but even so Kennedy has not given his word (not to invade).

That is why we said that there were no satisfactory guarantees without the Five Points* which we established right after the crisis (applause).
*(1) The end of attempts to strangle Cuba economically; (2) The end of espionage, sabotage and counter-revolution organized by the U.S.; (3) The end of pirate attacks; (4) The end of violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters; (5) Withdrawal of U.S. forces from the base at Guantanamo.

We must be very clear about certain matters which are somewhat confusing and subtle. If it is said that we are here because of the solidarity of the Socialist Camp, then it is the truth (applause); but if it is said that we are here because of the promises of Kennedy, then it is not the truth. We have resisted for four years, thanks to that solidarity. Now then, what does peace mean for us?

What peace is there for us? Since Kennedy spoke in the Orange Bowl, the agents of imperialism have committed four assassinations. They assassinated a **campesino** scholarship student while he was on vacation in Trinidad. They assassinated a worker from the province of Las Villas — burning him alive – a worker who worked in the re-forestation project, and they assassinated two **companeros** of COR in the province of Matanzas. Yankee agents with Yankee arms, following Yankee orders, are carrying out the policy of subversion announced by the imperialists.

What we are saying is this: how can there be a solution if the imperialists continue to

take upon themselves the right to strangle our country by hunger, to isolate our country, to pressure all the airlines and all the steamship lines to deprive us of raw materials and to create hunger in our country. How can there be a solution while the imperialists assume the right to blockade us, thereby creating unimaginable problems for us, without respect for international law or the principles on which the United Nations was founded.

How can there be a solution if the imperialists claim the right to subvert the social order, to introduce arms and saboteurs, to train and organize mercenaries, if the imperialists take the right to violate our waters and our air space and to organize bands of pirates, if the imperialists take the right to occupy part of our territory.

What right have the imperialists got to demand that friendly arms be withdrawn while they maintain enemy arms on the territory of the Cuban homeland (Guantanamo) — arms for aggression? (applause) What right do the imperialists have to do that?

In three declarations since the crisis, Mr. Kennedy spoke in reticent terms, threatening, maintaining a policy of economic, political, and other types of pressure against Cuba, promising not to invade if we would promise no subversion.

But for Kennedy, this congress is subversive — we can't win. This Congress of Women here, that speaks of hunger and the frightful misery of Latin America, this is subversion (to Kennedy).

When he spoke to the mercenaries in the Orange Bowl he said that he would give back the mercenary flag in Havana. Mr. Rusk — the Yankee secretary of state — speaking recently said that the United States had made no commitment not to invade Cuba, that if they had made such a commitment they had done so only in connection with the immediate situation and independently of their commitments to the other countries of Latin America; that's what he said.

Where is the commitment not to invade our country? It is insolent of the Yankee secretary of state to say that they have made no commitment not to invade Cuba. Do not the international laws, the Charter of the United Nations, and all the norms which govern relations between nations; do not these bind the U.S. not to invade our country? Of course! They do not have the right to invade us!

By speaking in this manner, even more than failing to commit themselves not to invade, they have relinquished the obligation they have to uphold International Right. Those who hold the Yankee reins of government betray, besides, the souls of gangsters and pirates (applause).

The imperialists are somewhat optimistic as reflected in their appraisals, but I don't think there is any reason for this optimism except their underestimation of the realities of the world and their underestimation of the power of the people.

It is quite clear that they do not want a finger moved in Latin America — they do not

want the people to struggle. For instance, the example of the heroic people of Venezuela is a terrible nightmare for them. They are supposed to quietly submit to the establishment of an extended empire in their country, to a base of exploitation more inhuman than before. All the imperialist programs presuppose more privations for the workers and more sacrifices for the masses.

Castro Comments on the Fight for Peace

It is clear to everyone that the Alliance for Progress will not succeed, because it is nothing but a program of exploitation, of power and of retrogression, because those associated with the "Alliance" are such types as Stroesner, Guido, Romulo Betancourt, the Somozas, and the Junta of "gorillas" in Peru. These are the "progressives."

It is with these "progressives" that Yankee imperialism is allied — the most reactionary and most antediluvian forces in Latin America. It will not work — it is doomed to failure. It is a desperate intent on the part of imperialism 1o mislead and confuse.

In one of his speeches, Mr. Kennedy asked us to compare Cuba with the Alliance for Progress. In any comparison, Mr. Kennedy is the loser, because here — in spite of all the imperialist propaganda — it is a fact that every child is guaranteed a litre (approx. 1 qt.) of milk daily (applause). We have had to ration because employment increased extraordinarily — close to 500,000 people were put to work and now they have paycheques, the **campesinos** were freed from rent payments, house rents were reduced 50%, education was made free, hospital services were increased five times, the resources of the people were increased immeasurably.

It was to be expected that, given this situation, we would adopt measures which guaranteed that the articles which everyone needed would be available to all at a fair price. There are still enough rich people to create speculation in the market.

Given a similar situation (scarcities) in the capitalist countries, prices of scarce goods would rise: a litre of milk would sell for 2 pesos, a pound of rice for 3 pesos and a pound of meat for 5 pesos. There would be no rationing, true, but there would be something worse — the people with money would get everything. Our enemies try to confuse us with all these things.

Our country faces a difficult situation as a result of two factors. First, we are the immediate and fundamental target of imperialism and second, the divisions or discrepancies, or whatever you like to call them, more or less optimistically, within the Socialist camp.

We have stated our position but we do not intend to throw wood on the fire of these differences. I believe that whoever does this goes against the interests of the world revolutionary movement (applause).

Faced as we are with imperialism, this is a hard and bitter reality. We have stated our

position, as we understand it, as is our duty, not in order to fan the differences but to struggle for unity in the Socialist camp (applause), unity based on principles, unity based on principles! and to struggle for that unity with Marxist-Leninist methods (applause).

Marxism-Leninism is sufficiently rich in ideological wealth and experience to provide answers to these questions, these difficulties — the question is how best to present the problem. I believe that we should struggle for unity but we should make known our own judgments. Chauvinistic? No!!! Marxist-Leninist!!! (applause). Imperialism is still with us, dangerous and aggressive, and the underdeveloped world is still with us. The liberation movements are still with us — they are struggling in Angola, in Vietnam, in Latin America and in all parts of the world — and that struggle needs the united forces of the Socialist camp (applause).

It is most unfortunate that these difficulties have arisen, but being faced with them we must fight them, because our first task is to unite. Marx said "Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!" (applause).

Marx and Engels struggled incessantly and tirelessly all their lives for that unity; that is what the political leadership of our Party and our people say, "Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!" (applause), unite in the face of the class enemy, in the face of the imperialist enemy, the oppressors, the war-mongers!!!

It is this position of our party, of our people — this judgment of our national leadership and our people — that has moved us forward, united, in difficult moments and in difficult circumstances. Our people were subjected to great tests during the crisis — tests requiring valor in the face of the Kennedy menace. We faced the possibility of being turned into an atomic target, but the nerves of our people were more steady than the nerves of the Generals of the Yankee Pentagon!

There was no lack of isolated voices of criticism — they were not lacking as was to be expected. Some who were honestly confused, and some not so honestly, criticized the national leadership of ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organization) right after the crisis over the inspection issue and the pirate flights over Cuba. These people seemed to think that we should have allowed ourselves to be inspected, as if to consecrate the right of the imperialists to say what arms we may or may not have, and to return our country to the period of the Platt Amendment when the United States Government decided things for us.

To have accepted inspection would have meant to agree that we must render accounts to the Yankee imperialists of the arms we can or cannot have on our territory. For us this involved a question of principle. It would have been equivalent to renouncing our sovereignty, of accepting the subjection of this country before all the other states in the world. We did not, and we will not, accept that! (applause).

Those who think that we can accept that, also think that our enemies can land without our firing a shot, because that is the way they come to these conclusions. That is not the way the Revolution came to power and that is not the way the Revolution was defended

at Playa Giron *(the aborted US-sponsored invasion of mercenaries at Bay of Pigs – Ed.)*. By standing firm, by being willing to fight in the face of imperialism, that is how we defend our Revolution.

Certain individuals thought we should let the Yankee planes fly over and "buzz" our anti-aircraft guns without our giving the order to fire. Such a reaction should never be expected of us: what the enemy must expect each time he attacks is a fight, and not a compromise (applause and shouts of "Fidel for sure, give the Yankees a hard time." This rhymes in Spanish—translator).

There will always be people who say, people who insinuate, that we were opposed to a policy of peace. The answer is the same now as then — we want peace, but with justice, with sovereignty and dignity (applause). We want peace, but not at the price of renouncing our role as revolutionists, not by renouncing the Revolution!

When we fought the invaders at Playa Giron, those who bombarded us, those who attacked us, no one doubted that we were defending the peace. When our people organized themselves to fight to the last man and woman in the face of the imperialist attack, no one doubted that we were defending the peace, because the resistance to aggression is the struggle for peace. Surrender to the aggressor is the road to war or the subjugation, of peoples. When we defend our sovereignty and our rights, we are defending peace.

And when we tell the Latin Americans (that the objective conditions exist for revolution we are defending the peace, because the more imperialism is weakened the less danger there is of war. The more imperialism is weakened the less aggressive it will be. The liberation movements of the people weaken imperialism and make if less aggressive, less dangerous. The struggle of the peoples for their sovereignty and independence is the struggle for peace.

Yes, we consider peace to be the fundamental objective of humanity. We struggle for it along the road of national sovereignty and national liberation, in the face of the exploiters, in the face of imperialism, by fighting against imperialist exploitation we are struggling for peace (applause).

We are the enemies of war; wars are imposed on humanity by the imperialists. The stronger they (the imperialists) feel, the more dangerous they will be. For that reason, every people that struggles for its sovereignty and for its independence, defends peace.

In this we Cuban Revolutionaries are united. Those who think they are going to take advantage of us are wrong: those who believe that in the face of the desire for unity, courage and dignity of our people, that they can opportunistically create confusion by casting doubt on the integrity of the Cuban Revolutionary leadership, they are sadly mistaken. This shows that they do not know our people, that they do not know the quality of our people.

Those who take advantage of the difficulties through which we are passing foment

division and commit grave treachery against our Revolution. We will encounter the plotters and the divisionists and we will have confidence in our party and the direction that will be given by the Revolutionary leadership. The people will say, this is our opinion, it is the direction given by the leaders and we have confidence in it (applause).

That will be the conduct of our people, the conduct of our revolutionary militants who do not become discouraged, who are not afraid of the struggle, who are not afraid of difficult circumstances no matter what they are. There will be no divisions here; there will be unity here because it is necessary, because we have the imperialist enemy on our doorstep waiting to destroy us. We need unity in order to resist, we need unity in order to win, we need unity more than ever to go forward. With our unity, our courage and our program we will march forward, facing up to difficulties; facing up to inconveniences, whatever they may be.

We will exercise the right to do our own thinking but we will be consistent with our revolutionary orientation. Above all else our thinking says — resist the imperialist enemy, combat the imperialist enemy in every way, march forward without retreating, without vacillation in the revolutionary ranks! Forward against Imperialism!

Imperialism has been and always will be our enemy and the enemy of Latin America.

We will continue along the revolutionary road to socialism, the road of Marxism-Leninism.

Patria o Muerte, Venceremos (ovation)

NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA
WORK FOR, VOTE NDP APRIL 8

The Workers Vanguard

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'A Referendum on Warheads' 'Decision of the Generation,' Challenges T.C. Douglas

"This election is first of all, and most important of all, a referendum of the Canadian people on the question of nuclear warheads," said NDP leader T. C. Douglas to a cheering audience in Toronto's York Scarborough constituency. The April 8 election, he said will be "the most fateful decision of the day and the generation for Canada."

Man can destroy civilization, pollute the earth and kill every living thing. The world rests under the threat of the mushroom cloud. The number one objective of the world is to prevent nuclear war. Children have the God-given right to grow up in health and walk the earth in dignity. As long as you and I have the strength we should fight to see that they get it. The first step to prevent nuclear war is to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. The NDP stands alone in unqualified and unambiguous opposition to nuclear arms.

This was the theme of Douglas' speech to a hushed and then wildly enthusiastic Scarborough audience as he kicked off the NDP national election campaign.

Sixty nine of the possible 72 council members of the Saskatchewan New Democratic party, meeting earlier in the month in Regina, unanimously felt that this would be the major issue in the election campaign. Provincial president Harry Link said that the NDP "states unequivocally that there is no place for nuclear arms of any kind on Canadian soil nor should Canadian forces anywhere be equipped with them. Only through taking this position can Canada give leadership toward world peace."

Honorary national leader M. J. Coldwell, addressing a nomination meeting in Regina, pointing up the important issues which would face the next parliament, stressed as first among them "Shall we join in the nuclear waste?" Canada must say no to nuclear weapons in Canada or in the hands of Canadian troops anywhere in the world.

Dr. E. Mahood, accepting the NDP nomination in Saskatoon, said the major issue in the April 8 election campaign is the question of nuclear arms, but that behind this lies the question of economic and political control of Canada. Step by step, he said, the federal government is abandoning the rights of Canadians to control their own military destiny. "I am not anti-American. I have no quarrel with the American people. I am speaking now of the warfare state, that military-industrial complex which dictates American policy."

At the Edmonton Alberta meeting, the largest ever assembled in that city, as he did in Toronto, NDP leader Douglas challenged the other three party leaders to come out from behind their "smokescreen of doubletalk" and debate the issue of nuclear arms on nationwide television.

"The difference between the Liberal party and the Conservative party on the issue," he said, "is the difference between warheads in April and warheads in May." The election of a Liberal government would make Canada nuclear immediately. The Conservative party purchased the nuclear weapons systems. And now Mr. Diefenbaker says that government policy on the warheads cannot be announced until after a NATO meeting in May, until after

(See overleaf—THE CHALLENGE)

Liberals — Cut the Talk! Arm Now!

The Liberals are for nuclear armament of Canadian forces at home and abroad — with no further delay. Pearson thinks that this shouldn't be a subject of political debate, and certainly not for decision by the people. This matter, like Canada's involvement in the Korean war designed to prop up discredited dictator Rhee and open up the war on China, should be left in the hands of specialists—their hands.

It is an emotional issue, says Pearson, while he argues for the continuance of Liberal-Tory cold war policies, because of "commitments" that have been made in the name of the "nation", that it is a matter of "honor" and "of responsibility" to our "allies" to fulfill. When he doesn't use such emotionally-charged words to blind us to the threat that the arms drive holds to civilization he promotes the line that we must nuclear arm in order to ensure the peace.

If Canadian forces were nuclear armed, the story goes, "Canada would have a finger on the safety catch to control the U.S. finger on the trigger." No matter that this was not true for Kennedy's nuclear armed allies, Macmillan and de Gaulle, during the Cuba crisis. No matter Kennedy's recent decree, during the discussion on a multilateral NATO force, that one person, namely the U.S., would have to bear the ultimate responsibility.

The Canadian people have no commitments. What commitments have been made in their name were made by Liberal and Tory governments, made in the interest of the finance capitalists who rule this country, behind the backs of the Canadian people.

Tories — Sweet-talk While Arming

The impatience of the U.S. State Department with the Diefenbaker minority government, which had so servilely collaborated in making every decision to nuclear arm Canada but the one that would actually clamp them into place (Defence Minister Harkness resigned because he said that Diefenbaker's polcy "would amount to a four month delay in obtaining nuclear warheads.") has given the Tories an appearance of opposition to nuclear arms and U.S. interference in Canadian affairs.

Diefenbaker is exploiting this situation for all that it is worth. He hopes that it will put his machine back in office with a majority so that it can do business as usual as the spokesman of Canadian Big Business interests in its dealings with its senior partners on Wall Street.

While they talk of renegotiation of Canada's commitments the Tories are not opposed to nuclear armament of Canadian NATO forces at all. When this election campaign was already underway his caretaker minister of defence announced a job done—rockets in the hands of Canadian overseas forces which on a command from NATO headquarters can be nuclear armed and operational in two hours.

HOW DO THEY SQUARE THIS?

Were Canada to arm the Bomarcs and NATO forces in Europe with nuclear warheads it would add nothing to its defence. **There is no defence from Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles.**

The United States military has nuclear capacity of such scope that it can wipe out any other power, not once but twice over, **even should it suffer the first devastating strike. Canadian nuclear armament would add nothing to the destructive power already marshalled that is said to be deterring the enemy from attack.**

There is no such thing as a war waged with tactical (short range) nuclear weapons—every military authority concedes their use would escalate into the atomic holocaust.

Why then are the Liberals, Tories and Thompson Social Crediters committing themselves to the nuclear armament of Canadian forces? They all support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—a military alliance of an entirely offensive character directed against the USSR, designed to stabilize the capitalist regimes in Europe against the peoples of that continent, and maintain imperialist interests against the colonial peoples' freedom struggles.

We have no cause to keep or to renegotiate any commitments that have been made in our name to NATO. Should NATO become nuclear armed the NDP is committed by its founding convention to urge Canadian withdrawal from NATO.

Diefenbaker has said that his caretaker government right now is "negotiating to make readily available and accessible atomic warheads" for the Bomarc. The extent of his opposition to and independence of the U.S. State Department is the few miles distance that lies between the Bomarc sites and the Canadian-US border, where he wants the warheads stored, in the jet speed age we live in.

Socreds—Doubletalk

National Social Credit leader Thompson is caught between the anti-nuclear demagogy of Quebec co-leader Real Caouette and his own efforts to make Social Credit a federal force. He hopes to win approval of the Big Business interests who use the Alberta Social Credit government to loot the oil resources of that province, and the B.C. Social Credit government as an opening wedge in their drive to smash organized labor across the country and undermine the hard-won living standards of the working people.

Thompson is for Canada to nuclear arm to the teeth and is an intimate of advocates of war now on the USSR. Caouette sees the Social Credit machine going places by hooking onto the anti-war sentiments of the Quebec people. Hoping to extricate himself from this situation, Thompson has come up with the formula of a nonpartisan parliamentary committee that would decide the whole question and not the people. He has declared that Caouette would vote for nuclear arms if such a committee approved of them.

Caouette confronts a dilema. To submit, or go it alone? Aside from the stench of McCarthyism and anti-semitism that hangs over Social Credit, an anti-nuclear arms vote for it in Quebec leads nowhere but up a blind alley.

"NOW, MOTHER, YOUR CHILD IS PERFECTLY SAFE---FROM POLIO

A LAW FOR SCABS— A LAW FOR STRIKERS

When the Vancouver Labor Council protested the shooting of unarmed strikers in Kapuskasing Ontario, which resulted in the death of three, and demanded that the Ontario attorney-general drop charges pending against the strikers, B.C. Social Credit union-busting came in for a blasting.

Council secretary Paddy Neale compared the bail set for those charged with murder in Ontario to that demanded by the B.C. courts of two unionists convicted of "assaulting" a scab on a sympathy picket line called by the council at Allied Engineering last fall. Neale, referred to the fact that the B.C. Appeal Court has just upheld a six month jail sentence slapped on both Dave West, secretary treasurer of the Marine local of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Joe Hendsbee, formerly of Toronto where he was well known as a militant in the Teamsters.

"With all due respect to the courts", he said, "it would appear that there is one law for scabs and strikebreakers and another for workers defending their interests."

The Workers Vanguard #84 - Mar. 1963

Cedric Cox's Reports on Cuba Cheered by West Coast Crowds

New Democratic Party MLA Cedric Cox has met with a rousing reception from BC audiences when he has reported on his Cuban trip which caused such concern from the owners of the daily press across Canada and sections of the NDP leadership.

Over 500 of his constituents packed a meeting called by the Oil and Chemical Workers Union and the Burnaby constituency association, with his fellow NDP MLA from Burnaby, Gordon Dowding, and NDP MLA Leo Nimsick (Cranbrook), on the platform. The audience cheered, broke into his speech on many occasions with bursts of applause and ended by giving him a prolonged standing ovation.

Cox, who is chairman of the Vancouver chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was given the same tumultous reception by the delegates to the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers convention that he addressed. The some 300 persons who on short notice came to hear Cox at a meeting called by the Victoria CCF-NDP made it the greatest turn out in the history of that constituency organization.

To the cheers of the Burnaby audience, and challenges to BC Social Credit Education Minister Peterson and Hospitals Minister Martin to show what they had done for the people of British Columbia in their last four years of office, Cox reported on the great achievements of the Cuban government in the short four years since the revolution.

"Before the revolution there was 35% of the work force of Cuba unemployed . . . They lived in mud and grass bohios. Today there are 10% unemployed. "In Cuba," he said, "they have a complete comprehensive medical plan. Since the revolution they have built over 100 hospitals.

"I went through new housing projects, beautiful, b e a u t i f u l apartment suites. With three and four bedrooms. Absolutely modern, as modern as any apartment building you'll find here in the city of Vancouver. They only pay rent of ten percent of their salary —after twenty years it's theirs."

How do they do it? Cox explained that they have taken the key resources of the country under public ownership. "All the profits attained from those copper mines, all the profits that come from the oil and everything else is now going into the government's hands. They are not going into the pockets of the United Fruit Company. They are not going to Miami."

Referring to the recent crisis Cox declared that it is not the beauty and wealth of Cuba that the American Big Business interests are concerned with, but the "ideas of Cuba which permeate the minds of all the people of Latin America. They can drop bombs on Cuba, they can kill every Cuban but they will not kill the ideas that are planted in the minds of the Latin Americans now."

Cox expressed a fervent desire that "more of us could go to Cuba . . . because when you talk to the Cubans—you realize how far-fetched are the stories you read in our papers. If," he said, "we Canadians will only help by trying to force our government to trade more with them, force our government, force the British government, to ignore United States policy—make the U.S. see the light, make them realize that the Cuban people are still human beings and that they have a right to their own way of life, a right to look at the sun the same as you and I. If only we can do that for the Cuban people, ten years from now you will be happy to go to this paradise."

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

in Vancouver
875 East Hastings.

in Toronto
81 Queen St. W.

The Workers' Vanguard #84-Mar. 1963

Bertrand Russell Protests Anti-Bombers Beat Charges

Toronto police who had arrogantly smashed into a peaceful anti-nuclear arms demonstration received a setback when the charge of unlawful assembly which they laid against 18 of the participants was dismissed by Magistrate Bolsby on March 2.

The demonstration of about 60 youth held on the Saturday afternoon before Christmas was roughly broken up by the police after it had picketed the Liberal and Tory party headquarters and wound up at the cenotaph at city hall to be addressed by Peter Horbatiuk, a leading activist in the CND, and Alan Engler a leader in the NDP youth.

Police instructed them to disperse and when speakers rose to address the assembly arrested one after another, then in quick order flung 21 into the paddy-wagon, among them passersby who in some way expressed shock and disapproval of the police actions.

One of the arrested participants, John Glenn, a school principal in nearby Coboconk, disclosed in a speech to an NDP nomination meeting that he was being pressed by the local school board to resign because of his actions. The world renowned scientist and philosopher, Bertrand Russell, registered his protest from Penrhyndeudraeth, Wales "That a man should be deprived of his livelihood because he has exercised his conscience on the issue of human survival is an affront to the integrity of every single Canadian citizen. Nuclear annihilation is a real threat," he wrote in a letter appearing in the Toronto Star, "and every Canadian would well display the courage of Mr. Glenn."

One of Canada's most eminent civil rights and constitutional lawyers, Andrew Brewin, defended 18 of the accused. With their acquittal on the charge of unlawful assembly the crown attorney dropped the charge of causing a disturbance that had been laid against the 18 and also Ross Dowson, secretary of the League for Socialist Action.

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A Call to Immediate Action

Not only does the NDP have a tremendous responsibility to the anti-war forces across the world but it has a glorious opportunity to get elected into office, and even failing that, to rally such support to its side as to stalemate the cold war warriors in their schemes and lay down a solid basis for future victories.

This requires all those who support the NDP and particularly those associated with the League for Socialist Action and the **Vanguard**, the voice of socialism within the NDP, to really extend themselves. We have decided:

1—To put the **Vanguard** on a ten-day publishing schedule for the duration of the campaign and publish in such a form as to permit all our friends and supporters to distribute it on a massive scale across the country.

2—To commence our annual drive to sustain the **Vanguard** immediately and set ourselves the objective of raising $3,500, the highest amount ever.

Join in the effort to acquaint everyone with the **Vanguard**! Those of you who now see it for the first time, take out a year's subscription by sending in $1.00 to 81 Queen Street West, Toronto!

EMOTIONAL ABOUT NUCLEAR ARMS? YOU BET! VOTE FOR LIFE! VOTE NDP!

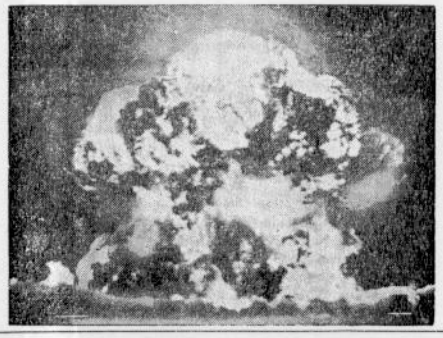
There are already enough nuclear arms to destroy civilization, to smash every major population center into rubble and render the rest of the globe uninhabitable due to radio-active pollution.

The US government and its military are bent on forcing Canada into the nuclear club over which they have complete control. Already armed with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and making thousands more each year according to Kennedy's security adviser, the rulers of the U.S. want Canada to jam nuclear warheads into the Starfighters, Honest Johns and Bomarcs that the Liberal and Tory governments have prepared for them.

These weapons, of an entirely offensive character, are planked right on the borders of the USSR. They add nothing to Canadian defence for there is no defence against ICBM's. They add nothing substantial to the so-called deterrent for it is the boast of the US Defence Secretary McNamara that the USSR doesn't even have the capacity for a second strike, while the U.S. could survive two and still have resources to strike back.

The inescapable conclusion is that the US aims are political, are designed to trap Canada into its offensive nuclear strategy and use Canadian compliance to line up other nations in its drive to dominate the entire globe.

There can be no illusions that Washington will not use the H bomb. In 1945, while the Japanese were treating for surrender, it destroyed the cities and populations of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.



So geared is the US military establishment for nuclear war—supersonic nuclear armed craft in the air, on constant alert, with the first unidentified blip on a radar screen blasting right up over the Arctic tundra to the borders of the Soviet Union, and on; unless ordered back — that the possibility of the accidental ignition of the nuclear holocaust is real.

Washington has its hands in innumerable situations across the globe, anyone of which could accelerate into the nuclear war. Right now intervening in South Vietnam, it is failing in its attempts to sustain its stooge dictator Nge Din Diem, with two billion dollars of US aid and 12,000 US military advisers, against a tiny band of poorly armed Viet Cong freedom fighters.

Last fall President Kennedy accelerated US harassment of tiny Cuba into a situation where he committed an act of war by clamping down a blockade which projected the entire world right up to the brink of disaster.

How else can one characterize Washington and the Pentagon than nuclear maniacs—juggling with the fate of humanity? How else can one characterize heads of government who talk in such a matter of fact way, as does Defence Secretary McNamara, of the mechanics of a war that would kill 100 million Americans, and go about the grisly business of preparing for the survival of a remaining 20 to 40 million?

Instead of working towards peace the Liberals and Tories are latching Canada onto the American nuclear juggernaut. Each year over the past decade they have been squandering almost two billion dollars on military preparations which could provide jobs and economic security for every Canadian, and going through the farcical maneuvers of preparations for survival from a nuclear war. Such plans are suicidal for there can be no survival from a nuclear holocaust.

Only the NDP has taken a clear and unequivocal stand in opposition to the nuclear arms drive. Vote for life, by voting for the NDP. A mighty poll behind the NDP will lift up the anti-war forces across the globe, particularly those inside the US itself, and launch them forward on a higher plane towards a new world of peace and plenty.

The Workers Vanguard

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NDP is Out to Win Power Don't Toss Your Vote Away

The New Democratic Party has nominated 206 candidates, a candidate for every riding but 50; more than enough to form the government on April 8. The NDP is out to win.

Big Business aims to defeat the NDP. That has top priority. They are intent on seeing either one or the other of their two parties, either the Liberals or the Tories, no matter which, establish a decisive majority. Government is big business and they want to operate through a machine which has some stability, with which they can work out the necessary and firm connections to sustain and further their interests against those of the working people.

That is the main pitch of the Liberals and the Tories to the electorate — elect a stable government! That is the key issue, according to them — see that one party has an overall majority! See that it is us, cry the Liberals! See that it is us, cry the Tories! This policy has the merit of allowing both Big Business parties to further their own interests, to carry on a struggle against one another, and at the same time form a common front against the opposition—primarily the NDP — relegate it to a token and inconsequential position.

Increasing numbers are seeing through the Liberal-Tory game. The Liberals had an overall majority for 22 years. The Tories replaced them with an overall majority for four years and everything went on as usual. Both governments had the same foreign policy—under both the interests of capital were supreme against labor. We had recurring unemployment, rising costs, pyramiding debts. And so the talk about a stable government serves their highest principle. It is designed to keep the NDP down. It turns the election away from a discussion and consideration of real issues, into the channels of picking the winner on the assumption that only one or the other, either the Liberals or the Tories, has a chance, into attempting to chose the lesser of what

(See Overleaf — THE N.D.P. IS)

Never Had it so Good, But What About You?

Progressive Conservative leaders, from Prime Minister Diefenbaker on down, are braying that we have never had it so good. The big election issue could be, says Senator and former cabinet minister David Walker, the prosperity of Canada. "In six years the Diefenbaker government passed more than 250 bills all of which contributed to the successful five year plan which has returned Canada to an unprecedented prosperity," he told an audience of Windsor Tories.

The Liberals apparently think the same, and even suggest that perhaps things are a little too good—for the working people, that is. Mr. Pearson, in a major policy statement, has placed welfare measures such as Medicare in third place on his list.

First priority is to restore the confidence of the world in Canada —meaning the US State department by arming Canadian forces with nuclear weapons. Second place is to introduce measures to expand the economy. Only with success in that, he declared, is their promise of further social progress for the people. To achieve the second point Pearson outlined a program of austerity for the working people—a program of harder work, increased production and revision of the tax structures to the favor of big business—to give IT encouragement.

Of course things never have been so good—for some. But it will be no comfort for the overwhelming majority of Canadians. It's Big Business that has never had it so good. Ford Motor Company of Canada, which is turning Windsor into a ghost town, had a record income last year of 33 million or $19.91 a share, over three times the previous year. Bell Telephone of Canada reported a net profit in 1962 of over 65 million dollars compared to 57½ million in 1961.

So good has it been for Canadian big business that a chart listing the world's billion dollar corporations shows George Weston Ltd. in 12th place. A supplementary chart shows Massey-Fergusson with a 19% gain in profit over last year, the CPR with a 12% gain, Hudson Bay with 22%, Canada Packers, 8.5%, Algoma Steel, 8.2% and so on.

Small comfort for the government estimated 541,000 unemployed who constitute 8.3% of the work force and are compelled to attempt to live on the meagre benefits they have paid into the unemployment insurance fund. Officials are crying that the fund will be bankrupt late in March or early April.

The cost of living has rocketed to a record height— 132.1 on the government index. The primary factor in the increase is the rising cost of food. Sugar stood at the highest in five years and since these figures, has jumped in price for the 11th time this year.

Consumers' debt has climbed up 11% over last year — rising in every category. More workers owe more money to finance companies for consumers goods, for small personal and commercial loans, for instalment credit, than ever before. The total as of December 31, the latest figure available, was over 3¾ billion dollars.

There is lots of housing for upper and middle income families, but a great poverty for low-income large-family groups. There have been only 8,000 units of subsidized housing built across Canada in 13 years.

JOHN DIEFENBAKER

The Ontario legislature, during a recent debate on Department of Health estimates, heard that the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children has a waiting list of 1,700 children in need of psychiatric help. Students at the University of British Columbia have launched a campaign of action to protest a crisis in education which threatens to result in higher fees, as many as a 1,000 students being refused admission next year, and fewer professors and larger classes.

Trade Minister McCutcheon boasts of a 30% rise in the gross national product over the past 6 years. But in constant dollars this shrinks to a mere 15%, or 2.5% a year—not boom but a threatening and ominous stagnation of the economy.

This month three Canadian sugar companies were fined a picayune $25,000 for operating a conspiracy to set prices. Next month, on April 8, the Canadian people have the opportunity to rid themselves of Liberal and Tory governments—organized conspiracies with Big Business against the people of Canada— by electing a New Democratic government. They should, they must, grasp the opportunity.

'Little Man' Diefenbaker His Friends & Associates

Tory leader John Diefenbaker is trying to get as much mileage as possible out of the interference of the U.S. State Department that was tired of his problems as head of a minority government and brought his government down — and out of the defections of several cabinet ministers who opposed his policy on nuclear arms and who he suggested represented unnamed monied interests.

He claims to be the "little man" who is opposed by the "great interests . . . national and international". Warming up, he says, "I believe that everybody is against me — but the people."

Of course Senator McCutcheon was never against him, and he is no small potatoes. In an exuberant mood Diefenbaker once compared McCutcheon's acquisition to his cabinet to U.S. millionaire President Kennedy's acquisition of McNamara from Ford Motors. McCutcheon — business friend of financial tycoon E. P. Taylor — before his appointment to the federal cabinet, had been a director of more than 20 corporations with gross assets of more than 5½ billion dollars.

And now, low and behold, we learn that ex-Defence Minister Harkness, who lead off the exodus from the Tory cabinet, is back in the fold as the unopposed and official candidate of the Diefenbaker government in Calgary. And not only Harkness but former associate defence minister Pierre Sevigny — he too is an official Diefenbaker candidate.

Both Harkness and Sevigny were for the "nuclear arms now" policy of the Liberals. Sevigny voiced concern about what he felt was an anti-American stand of the Prime Minister.

Quite the contrary to Mr. Diefenbaker, Mr. Sevigny has maintained Canada is firmly committed to acquisition of nuclear arms for its forces both here and abroad.

Neither Mr. Harkness nor Mr. Sevigny has shown any sign of recanting their former positions. In fact Harkness is openly pressing his views across the country. Where do these facts leave the Tory party and Mr. Diefenbaker as a representative of the "little man" and as in anyway at all having reservations about nuclear arms? They expose him as nothing but an unscrupulous demagogue!

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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Supporters of the WORKERS VANGUARD have responded well to the call to action in our last issue. Anxious to let other workers know what the socialists have to say about the elections, they took some 25,000 copies of the first special election issue into factories and distributed them at plant gates in Vancouver, Toronto, Oshawa, and Hamilton. Supporters in other parts of the country have asked for bundles of this issue for distribution in their areas.

The second part of the call to action, to raise $3,500 by May 1st to finance the VANGUARD for the coming year, has also been well met. We have so far received $792 and been promised $2,110. These sums are made up of both large and small contributions—ranging from a $300 donation from a group of workers in Alberta to the many contributions of $10. or less from other points.

But we still have a long way to go. We urge you, the readers on whom our existence depends, to help us in our fight to put an NDP government in power as a giant's step forward to a socialist Canada.

The Workers Vanguard

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Quebec NDP Fields Record Number A Real Breakthrough is Predicted

The upsurge of interest in the Parti Nouveau Democratique of Quebec is one of the most significant developments in the entire federal election campaign. The party is contesting seats where the CCF before it, even in its heyday, never did. It is contesting 60 all told. The radical ferment that has been churning through the ranks of the poor farmers, workers and intellectuals, instead of being siphoned off into the blind alley of the Quebec Social Credit group, this time will have an opportunity to rally behind the NDP.

The Quebec Federation of Labour, representing 235,00 workers, has in the words of Roger Provost reaffirmed its support of the NDP as the party "that best expresses the aspirations of French Canadians". The 110,000 member Confederation of National Trade Unions more than ever before has identified itself with the NDP campaign. Its former president and now Montreal area council president Gerard Picard, as co-leader with T. C. Douglas of the federal party, has been sparking a vigorous campaign.

The party's firm opposition to nuclear arms has won new layers of support including such persons as former Bloc Populaire leader Paul Massey, contesting ex-minister of transport Lionel Chevrier for Montreal-Laurier. Both La Presse and LeDevoir are supporting the NDP.

Roger Bedard, an international representative of the Steelworkers, who became widely known for his leadership of the battle at Murdochville against the copper barons, is one of the 60 NDP candidates. He is contesting Social Credit leader Real Caouette's riding of Villeneuve. "My friends," he said in a recent broadcast to the electorate there, "Real has done a terrific job in exposing the emptiness of the old parties. He has brought the problems to the surface. But Social Credit has no solutions for the problems."

REAL CAOUETTE

Social Credit with its free-wheeling slashing attacks on the Liberals and Tories, reflecting the widespread discontent of the Quebec populace, has set a radical pace for the NDP. Caouette's attack on Eric Kierans, president of the Montreal and Canadian Stock Exchanges, as a "financial shark, a speculator and leech who sucks the blood of the poor" is a far cry from the comments of NDP leader Douglas, after a friendly chat with Kierans, that he is a "fine fellow" and really "at heart a democratic socialist". Caouette has ridiculed the trade union leadership for sitting idly by while 2,800 men were laid off at Canadair (Montreal) several months ago. "They did nothing for them," he jeered.

Over two thousand persons rallied to a meeting addressed by Picard in the small town of Jonquiere to hear him expose the hypocricy and demagogy of Quebec Social Credit's opposition to nuclear arms. Caouette has declared "It's no! At home, No! Abroad, No! to nuclear arms." But Social Credit's Alberta Premier Manning, cheek by jowl with U.S. oil interests, has repudiated Caouette. National leader Thompson, seeking to take advantage of the crisis of the Liberals and Tories and win support of the Big Business interests, is expressing a desire to head up a new "private enterprise party—with a business-like government" He has declared the national SC party's acceptance of nuclear arms and is trying to take the matter out of the election into an independent parliamentary committee whose decision, he has said, Caouette has agreed to accept. Picard challenged Caouette that if he was honest he would resign from the Social Credit party. He pointed out that the NDP is a federal party with the possibility of carrying its policy —the Caouette group is isolated to Quebec.

Every observer of the Quebec scene concedes that the NDP is going to poll a good vote—that it is going to make considerable inroads where it has never been before. It is highly possible for the first time we will see the election of labor representatives from Quebec.

"When Quebec starts to move anything can happen. It is a province with a revolutionary atmosphere," said Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald in reference to the sudden upsurge of interest there in the NDP.

Business Dictatorship Scored by Douglas

The major economic decisions in Canada are made "by the relatively small group of men who sit on the boards of directors of a few large corporations—many of them outside the country" declared NDP leader T. C. Douglas to a stamping and cheering crowd in Windsor, many of whom were autoworkers. "They (he meant the Liberals, but the same goes for the Tory and Socred parties) have accepted the big bosses' philosophy of lower wages and produce more for less money . . . they are planning in the interests of the big corporations."

Only a few hours before Mr. Douglas spoke, the heads of Ford, one of the powerful auto corporations whose plant withdrawals from Windsor have been turning it into a ghost town, announced that they were moving their national parts and accessories depot from Windsor to the Toronto area. Chrysler has since announced the withdrawal of its central parts depot from nearby Chatham to the Toronto area.

As if he were addressing himself to the autobosses as spokesman for the thousands of Windsorites who are fated not only to lose their present jobs but to find no others and see the value of their homes plummet downwards, he cried out; "You have wounded Windsor enough and you shall not move!" He assured his audience that the NDP in office would force Ford to remain in Windsor.

Later on in his address Mr. Douglas took up the challenge of unemployment with the pledge that an NDP government would put every able-bodied man who wanted to work on a job inside a year.

These are good words! Excellent words! Exactly what the NDP must be saying! But when it comes to advancing a practical program, one that would trans form these words from promises, from in the eyes of any critically-minded persons appearing to be demagogic, into lines of action which anyone can readily see are realizable, Mr. Douglas and the rest of the party's spokesmen are not there.

How would the NDP discipline these mighty and arrogant anti-social monopolists? How would it plan the economy? Under the further proddings of the press Mr. Douglas presented a program scarcely different from that of the Liberals—inducements such as tax and tariff concessions, guaranteed loans to persuade industry not to move, etc.

The hopeless inadequacy, the the falseness of his suggestion that Canada should set up a Location of Industry Act such as in Britain, must have been apparent to anyone who is aware of the mounting unemployment over there. Speaking before a Saskatchewan audience who are faced with the decision by the railway moguls to cut over 2,000 miles of lines out of their province alone, Mr. Douglas had no proposition other than that a national transportation authority should be set up. Deputy-leader David Lewis, speaking before Maritimers who see the whole economy of that area collapsing over their heads, suggested further increased government aid to local industry, the utilization of public funds for capital construction "to the extent necessary to bring down unemployment at least to the national level".

Official statements sketch out a vast development program: houses, hospitals, schools, bridges, called "social capital" How such a program would do other than take the edge off, how it would really solve unemployment of the present scope; and where the funds are to come from, goes unexplained. There is not even the hint that an NDP government would even scale down and reallocate in this direction any part of the 2 billion dollars spent yearly for military equipment and supplies.

The NDP leadership are promoting a "'make capitalism work" program. This is apparent from their talk about incentives, loans at low interest rates, and investment of capital directed into private and public endeavours; the capital for such purposes to be raised on the market from those who have capital through a Development Fund. All the talk about the Development Fund being open to all Canadians means nothing, for few Canadians have anything to invest. All this talk is nothing but a version of the Wall Street-Bay Street-fostered talk of a "Peoples' capitalism."

And it isn't at all as if there were no other ideas in the NDP that the NDP leadership could propose, could suggest, and commence the Canadian people thinking about. For there are. This whole question was discussed at some length at the NDP founding convention in Ottawa. The framework of the debate was whether the party should commit itself to a policy of public ownership of the means of production already created by the Canadian working people, or this bankrupt "make capitalism work" policy presently advocated. The convention adopted the latter as official policy but it never put the pox on the policy of public ownership.

The convention adopted the Douglas leadership's policies only after Douglas supporters such as Steel staffman William Sefton assured the delegates that it may be necessary to adopt all sorts of methods to achieve our purpose.

→p. 2

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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Attention

This is No. 3 of the special federal election issues of Workers VANGUARD that have been distributed on a mass scale in major centers across the country. The Workers VANGUARD and the LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL ACTION are dedicated to win Canada to socialism through the New Democratic Party. Win, lose, or draw on April 8, this struggle goes on.

- **Subscribe now to the VANGUARD at $1.00 for 12 issues**
- **Attend the LSA forums in Vancouver at 875 East Hastings**
  In Toronto at 81 Queen Street W.

#84B-Apr. 1963

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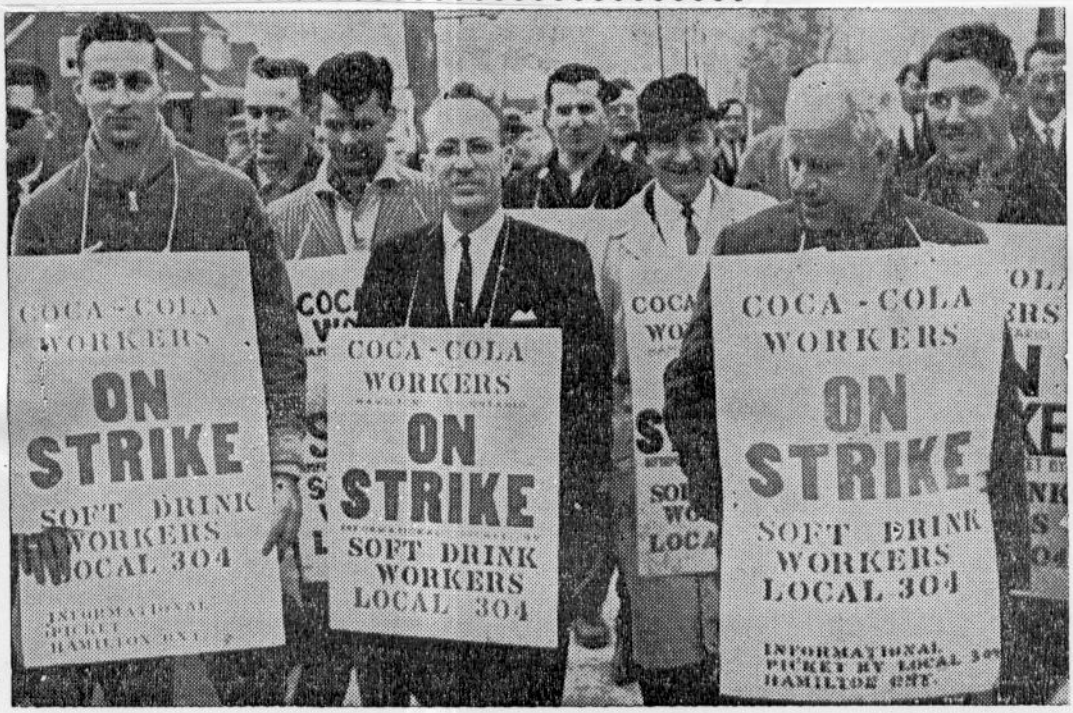
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INFORMATIONAL PICKET BY LOCAL 304 HAMILTON ONT.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas on the picket line at the Coca Cola plant while in Hamilton. Local 304 of the International Brewery Malt and Soft Drink Workers Union struck the plant on December 4 against wages that are from 13 to 39 cents an hour less than the company pays elsewhere in Ontario. In 1962 Coca Cola collared close to 47 million dollars in profits—almost 10 cents on every sales dollar.

If it means nationalization of our steel plants or public ownership of our natural resources then it must be done.

Among the delegates at the founding convention who favored a clear commitment to public ownership were Dorothy Steeves, now candidate in Vancouver-Quadra, and Colin Cameron, candidate in Nanaimo. Steeves said that the only way to build a new Canada and to establish a genuine economic democracy is through the public ownership of the basic means of production. Cameron declared that it is absolutely impossible for the NDP to embark on any degree of effective planning as long as we have these gigantic corporations in control of our economy.

While the party leadership has not shown any marked reticense about committing the party to positions for which it has in no way a mandate, on this matter, unfortunately, it has shown complete rigidity—even in critical areas where public ownership is obviously posed—in Windsor, the railway communities, in the Maritimes.

While the NDP is not committed to a positive position of socialization—one would think by its inflexibility under these circumstances that it was not only non-socialist but even anti-socialist. In fact the situation became so ludicrous in one Toronto NDP nominating convention that a score of members felt forced to take the floor to proclaim themselves as socialists when the candidate, a university professor who joined the party only last October, consistantly dissociated himself from socialism.

Not only can't the official program bear serious scrutiny, but consistant with it, leading spokesmen have given the party an extremely conservative image scarcely differentiating it from the Liberals and Tories except on the key issue of nuclear arms.

Where this policy of the NDP leadership doesn't tend to allow the protest to be misdirected, it leaves thousands of workers apathetic to politics as such, convincing them that when all is said and done all politicians are the same. In this way the present policy is truly suicidal. There is an answer to the present economic crisis—it is public ownership—it has strong support in the party and should be made known.

The Workers' Vanguard #84B – Apr. 1963

4 CANADIANS BREACH WALL 'ROUND CUBA

A cold wind blew in from the Carribean when U.S. President Kennedy announced during his visit to Costa Rica that his government and its Latin American satellites would "build a wall around Cuba." Having failed in his attempts to crush the Cuban peoples' revolution by invasion, blockade, and support of counter-revolutionary brigands, Kennedy and his puppets have taken a new course in order to bolster up the crumbling police states in Latin America — a quarantine of ideas from Cuba.

Top planks in the program are, according to one reporter; "greater control over the movement of Latin Americans to and from Communist bloc nations, especially Cuba," and "tighter reins on the flow of Communist propaganda in Latin America."

★★★★★★★★★★★

THE SHORTEST POLITICAL SPEECH

I say—for positive annihilation,
Vote Liberal!

For subtle extermination,
Vote Conservative!

For money in your casket,
Vote Socred!

And for life—
With No Down Payment—
Vote NDP!

—Joe Rosenblatt

Not content with the imposition of a travel ban against American citizens going to Cuba, Washington seeks to impose a travel ban on Latin Americans. We do not know what this spells out for Canadians but Senator Jacob Javits recently said in the U.S. Senate that "we must put more pressure on our NATO ally, Canada, to curb the shipping of dangerous materials to Cuba." What with the US embargo and her almost total lack of hard currency, Cuba's trade in goods with Canada has dropped precipitously. Does the Senator mean the shipping of human beings, Canadian's travelling to Cuba who return with what they consider to be the most dangerous threat to US hegemony over Latin America — with the truth about the situation inside Cuba?

Regardless, the pamphlet entitled **Four Canadians Who Saw Cuba** that has just come out is an invaluable one. It is composed of reports by four Canadians from quite different walks of life, two of whom visited Cuba last year and two early this year.

The contributors approach their subject from widely different angles. The Ontario public school principal, John Glenn, reports on his interview with a Cuban school teacher which gives a picture of the great strides to educate the people that have been taken under the revolution, The Winnipeg journalist and trade unionist, Charles Beisick, writes on the crisis of last fall and the need to speak the truth about Cuba. The Toronto university student, Dick Fidler, deals with the political atmosphere in the first socialist revolution on this continent, its evolution, and the attitude of the Cuban people towards it. The member of the BC legislature, Cedric Cox, sketches in a dramatic picture of his impressions of many aspects of Cuba as he saw it.

The total makes a well balanced account of the achievements and the development of the revolution and is perhaps the next best thing to going there yourself.

Two of the contributors are quite well known—Cox has represented the Burnaby constituency in the BC legislature since 1957. His contribution is a report that he made before a mass meeting of his constituents upon his return from his trip that roused nationwide attention in the daily press. He is the only elected representative in Canada who has visited Cuba. Biesick was for some years editor of the Manitoba CCF **Commonwealth** and is presently one of the editors of the Prairie New Democrat **Commonwealth.** All four are actively associated with the New Democratic Party.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is certainly to be congratulated for cutting a breach into the wall so soon after Kennedy announced its erection. All walls even this one called "a wall of freedom" is totalitarianism in any man's language. It is a pleasure to see such a fine job of reproduction. All in all this pamphlet should do much to overcome many of the misconceptions among Canadians about Cuba. At 35 cents a copy obtainable through **The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Box 923, Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto,** it should win a wide circulation.

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The Workers Vanguard #85 - May 1963

Steeves and Clifford Analyze Elections—

B.C. N.D.P.ers Organize Caucus

By E. Strong

VANCOUVER — "The trouble with the election results was that we did not try to promote socialism or to please our friends—we tried to please our enemies! And it hasn't worked!" exclaimed Dorothy G. Steeves, NDP provincial executive member speaking on the NDP's electoral strategy to a crowded meeting in Hillcrest Hall on Sunday April 21st.

The critical tenor of her remarks were re-emphasized by every speaker who addressed the gathering. The featured speakers were Hugh Clifford, W. W. Lefeaux, Jerry Lebourdais and Orville Braaten. Bert Herridge, NDP M.P. for Kootenay West spoke from the floor. Most of the prominent left-wingers in the area were in attendance.

This meeting of over 100 NDP activists was an expression of the dissatisfaction and discontent many feel over the decline of the party revealed in the last election. It was initiated by two North Shore NDP'ers, John Macey and Hugh Clifford, to discuss the recent election results and the need for a socialist manifesto for the party.

W. W. Lefeaux opened the meeting. Mrs. Steeves, whose nomination against Howard Green had raised consternation in the right-wing of the party, took several swipes at the leadership for their use of the slogan "social capital" during the campaign. "The spending of money by government, the borrowing of money by government—that's what it meant."

Dorothy Steeves

She explained that during the campaign she was forced to confine herself to much of the official program. "I didn't want to get my supporters into trouble. I didn't follow it in regards to NATO."

She stated the leadership were saying that conventional weapons were alright for Canadian forces, when "war, war of any kind is paid for by the people." With the limited position of "no nuclear arms for Canada", she said, our enemies caught us out; if we followed it through logically, we would have to get out of NATO.

"It's no good pretending that you can make NATO into a conventional force; if you have weapons at all, the big nations of the world and their little followers—one of which is Canada at the present time — are going to have the most efficient—nuclear weapons.

"I myself stand for a program

(see page 4 — BC NDPers)

BC NDPers Consider Organization of Left

(Continued from page one)

of unilateral disarmament for Canada.

"This is the logical moment—capitalist nations of the world are more and more armaments — unemployment, and the only thing they have to offer against this is more aand more armaments — $54 billion in the United States; and yet there's a tough nut to crack . . .

"It's time that it stopped. And it's time somebody took leadership in Canada to tell the people in Canada so."

She said the whole system reminded her of a book she was reading on ancient Egypt — about the pyramids that were built on the bodies of thousands of slaves. "A decayed economic system is the same — it too builds on dead bodies."

Hugh Clifford, who has been many times an election candidate for the CCF and NDP in Coast-Capilano, said that in their quest for office to become the government of Canada, "the leadership's position" was to become "'more acceptable", and "project a more favourable image."

In the last election, he went on (using the editorial 'we') "many of us thought it a sure fire approach for remedying the problems that ail the working class of Canada . . . In order to present the image, we have been whittling away at what some believe to be fundamental truths . . . until very little is left — and as far as this election was concerned, nothing left."

He cited one riding to illustrate his point.

"In Burrard," he said, "Berger was elected the last time by a very small majority. There was to be no mistake on the part of the provincial election committee this year and a tremendous effort was put into his campaign. In the conformist sense, Berger was an ideal candidate.

"Apparently considerable sums of money were spent. Two tremendous ads were published in the **Sun** and **Province** which only Conservatives or Liberals could pay for . . . When I saw these, I was sure he would win. But he didn't.

"We should learn that money will not buy the government for the working-class. Something else has to win it".

It is not enough to talk about portable pensions and medicare he stated, "both of which have been stolen by the Liberal Party. Something has to be offered." Do we have to point to Cuba, to the Southern States, to Africa to prove that the world is on fire, and yet we keep talking about medicare.

He concluded his remarks by saying that it was necessary to get rid of those who advocate the right wing program. He said the struggle for socialism in the party will continue despite the recent expulsions of the left-wing youth. (Clifford referred here to the expulsion last November of 11 B.C. New Democratic youth for "association" with the League for Socialist Action).

"I think that the socialists in the NDP must be prepared at this time to call themselves together as socialists . . . That's why some of us thought it essential to call a meeting of this kind — we want to know to what degree we will be allowed to proclaim our socialism, rather than being socialists and hiding in the corner and keeping our views to ourselves — this of course can be acceptable, but NOT acceptable to me.

"Socialists have the right to organize . . . We should proclaim ourselves the Socialist Fellowship . . . free to meet from time to time, and write a socialist manifesto . . . not in a clandestine way but openly". In such a way, he said, even those who don't understand our ideas, will defend our right to exist.

Dorothy Steeves took issue with Clifford, and this was the main point of debate in the ensuing discussion. Steeves said she agreed with the idea that the socialists in the NDP should meet as a group—"but not under a name," she emphasized. "You only give a handle for your opponents in the party to attack."

She felt, she said, that a construction could be put on it that it would be a separate organization and the main thing is to stay in the party. There have been expulsions already, she said, and we don't want any more.

She said the socialist wing should meet to clarify its own ideas — this would require several meetings and then it can start to win the New Party to its aims.

Bert Herridge was asked by the chairman to speak from the floor. "I am delighted to be here", he said. "It reminds me of the CCF convention of 1936, and I want to endorse what was said by the other speakers."

He related to the audience some of his experiences when, on behalf of the Canadian government, he attended several international gatherings. He had been to Tokyo and recounted some conversations he had with Koreans which showed their burning hatred of U.S. imperialism. He referred to Thailand and Laos. "There's a ferment in the world which is not going to be denied its proper course."

He turned to the elections. He too repeated the sentiment that it was necessary that the NDP offer itself as a socialist alternative. "I'm more in favor of being a pioneer group than in corrupting our principles . . . The last session of parliament was one of the most frustrating of my experience," he said, and one of the most difficult. "Colin Cameron and I felt so isolated. I urge you to write us and send us information, keep us in touch.

The discussion from the floor was at times heated and revealed wide differences of opinion on how the socialists should proceed. Dennis Christiansen accused the meeting of heading in a split direction and urged that it not take up a socialist manifesto. Jim McKenzie, the editor of **Press**, a publication which along with the **Workers Vanguard** has been proscribed by the B.C. NDP leadership, backed up Christiansen in urging the meeting not to take any concrete steps. He claimed that the socialists had not given sufficient support to **Press**.

Reg. Bullock, NDP North Shore, took issue with the opposition to the concept that the group should not adopt a name. He asked, "How are we going to operate; where are we going from here?" and strongly emphasized the need for a socialist caucus.

The discussion ranged back and forth. Some were very pessimistic and there seemed to be a general confusion as to the direction the caucus should take. There were people in attendance who definitely could not be called part of the left wing of the party, people such as Harvey Smith and John Motiuk who on behalf of the bureaucracy had acted as informers against the expelled youth. Pointed remarks were made at them.

Speaker after speaker took issue with the idea that to organize was to split the movement. Lil Crate stated, "We didn't come to splinter; we came here to fight for the right to meet and go where we want and to say what we want."

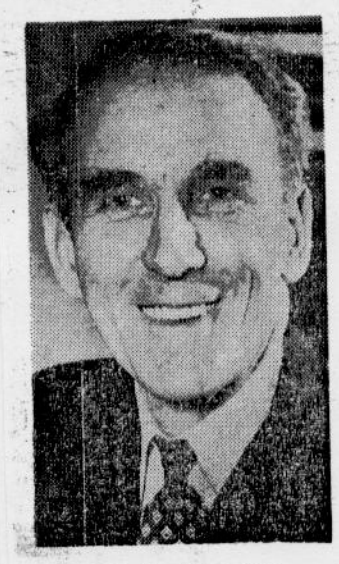
Jack Scott of the Boilermakers, received a warm response when he said "To raise the question of splitting is witch-hunting." He referred to the British Labour Party where, he said, many tendencies and groupings, organizations, exist. "They fought for their right to be there," he said. "A movement that can allow the affiliation of trade union bureaucrats can allow the affiliation of the socialists."

In his summary, Hugh Clifford, put the problem this way. He said that to preserve the existence of socialist thought in the party it was necessary to organize as a group. "I deplore 'unity'. What does it mean? It means you can be a socialist as long as you don't talk too much about it. If we are afraid to be identified, what sort of people will we be when we meet face to face with the capitalist class itself?"

Dorothy Steeves, in a brief rejoinder, said: "I reject the idea that to meet without a name is to meet surreptitiously. I don't care whether I get expelled, but by identifying yourself with a name, a political construction will be put on it and it will lead to isolation."

The meeting ended with a resolution being adopted calling for the gathering to meet once a month. The next meeting will be held May 12th.

Endorsed Speeches Frustrated in House.



Bert Herridge, M.P.

The Workers Vanguard

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Ont. NDP Top Brass Launch Witch-hunt in Youth Group

Rumour and gossip of expulsions of socialists, that has been circulating for the last several months in and around the New Democratic Party and the New Democratic Youth in the Toronto area, has now jelled.

Close to a dozen youth, the leading activists in the New Democratic Youth, have been expelled, a representative of the Ontario NDP provincial executive told a provincial council meeting on April 20. This action, was taken against the accused in their absence, without their being faced with the charges or the evidence and without having any opportunity to defend themselves. If it is not defeated by the next meeting of the provincial council, to which they can appeal, it will in all probability completely destroy the Ontario youth section of the party.

The accused were expelled on the charge of "membership in and support of another political party, namely the Young Socialist Alliance." It was suggested that there will be more expelled shortly.

Following their announcement of the expulsions the provincial executive moved a motion to the effect that the council, should the accused appeal, should consider any argument that the so-called YSA is not an opponent political party but a legitimate socialist force in the NDY, as undebatable and grounds for automatic expulsion. In a reply to a question, the chairman said that attendance at LSA forums would not be considered "support' but that participation in LSA activities would be. His silence when a party functionary stated that selling the Vanguard would be considered "support" leads one to conclude that the NDP top brass is going to operate on the principle that the Vanguard too is proscribed.

The following morning John Wilson, a youth with ten years membership in the CCF and NDP youth movements, president of the West Toronto NDY, vice president of the Metro NDY council, and executive member of the Parkdale NDP, appeared to appeal the executive's action against him. Wilson appealed that his membership be renewed, or, failing this, that the organization declared to be an opponent political party which he is alleged to be a member or supporter of, be named, that he be presented with the evidence and

(see page 3 — Ont. Expulsions)

Expulsions

(continued from page one)

be faced by his accusers, and given the opportunity to prepare his case.

Following Wilson's presentation of a statement and his dismissal, a motion was presented by the executive that their action be upheld. This lead to a two-hour discussion during which grave doubt was expressed by several delegates as to the handling of the matter—that Wilson had not been given a fair trial. The provincial executive remained unmoved, declaring that it was satisfied with the evidence it claimed to have in its possession. Presenting the question as a vote of confidence the executive forced through its motion and Wilson's expulsion was upheld.

The expelled youth will no doubt make a real effort to appeal to the rank and file membership, to the constituency organizations of the party, to the youth who know them as active and loyal members of the movement, but all of whom have been completely bypassed. Every NDPer seriously concerned that elementary democracy prevail in the party will oppose this witch-hunt against socialist opinion and give them whatever help possible to defeat the executive's actions.

THE TRIPOLI PROGRAM

Program of the Algerian Revolution

Adopted by the FLN in June 1962

35 cents

WORKERS VANGUARD PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

81 Queen Street West, Toronto

Toronto youth rallied to picket four major Woolworth stores on April 20. They did so in response to an appeal by 25 major organizations in the U.S. including large unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO and Negro groups. The picket called for a boycott as pressure on the mamoth chain store to end its discriminatory practices against Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama. It was organized by the executive of the Metro Council of the New Democratic Youth. This action proved to be the council's last, as it was dissolved the next day by the NDP provincial executive. Ironically that same day saw John Wilson, holding the sign above, expelled by the NDP provincial council from the party.

Meaning of NDP Vote And What's to Be Done

(An analysis of the 1963 Federal election -- ed.)

By the Editors
(from Workers' Vanguard, May 1963)

The tumult and the shouting of the campaign to elect Canada's 26th parliament has died. The top strategists of the Liberals are analyzing just what their victory means, just how far they can go with their austerity program and belt tightening on the working people, how far and how fast they can commit Canada, after they nuclear arm the Bomarcs, to a nuclear armed NATO *(as demanded by Washington and the Pentagon -- ed.)* They are thinking of how they can work things so that the next election will win them an overall majority.

The thousands of working people who are now members and supporters of the New Democratic Party, who freely gave their time and energy to establish a labor-farmer government in Ottawa, and the many who until now have stood on the sidelines, sympathetic but sceptical, are wondering what happened to the NDP. They are wondering where we go from here.

A full and unrestricted discussion of the NDP election campaign policy and strategy, open to all who desire to participate — before the entire working people of Canada who have to become involved in the party's affairs and won to its side so that it can achieve its purpose — must now take place.

The Political Education Committee of the Toronto and District Labour Council, the largest council in the country, has submitted an evaluation. The Ontario provincial council of the NDP has discussed the matter. In Vancouver this week NDP candidates Dorothy Steeves, Hugh Clifford and others, talk on The Federal Election and the Need for a Socialist Manifesto for the NDP at the Hillcrest NDP hall.

Another meeting at the League for Socialist Action hall in Vancouver will be addressed by NDP candidates Margaret Erickson, Hugh Clifford and LSA leader Ruth Bullock on Where to Now, for the NDP.

A Serious Setback for Labor

It is our opinion that these election results represent a serious defeat for the NDP — the cause of which must be ascertained so that the party, particularly this year's national convention, can take appropriate action. The results are certainly much worse than the party leadership lead everyone to believe they would be.

To be sure the leadership led no one to anticipate that we would take office. They did just the opposite, about which we will comment later. But they predicted that the party would make a breakthrough in Quebec. We didn't! They predicted that we would pick up "at least four or five seats on top of the three won in 1962" in the Toronto area. We lost

one and almost another. "It will be surprising." they said, "if the NDP got less than 39-40% of the vote in the province" of B.C. We were stalemated at 30%. There is no question that Glace Bay would re-elect the "new image" M.P. Malcolm Maclnnis. We lost, with 3,000 miners boycotting the polls. They talked of amassing two million votes. We got one million.

We do not think that in their predictions the leadership was away out on Cloud 9. We don't think that they overestimated the level of consciousness of the Canadian people, or were on some kind of left jag. But they were all wrong, absolutely and tragically wrong!

By their own standards the campaign, particularly in certain ridings, was a model one. They had the "right kind" of candidates, more than, enough campaign workers, plenty of, and diverse election material — in one Toronto riding alone they spent more than the total spent In all Quebec.

To be sure the party didn't get the breaks from the big capitalist dailies. But will it ever? It was red-baited but not markedly, and when won't this device be used to confuse the electorate? Prom the point of view of the leadership of the party, their concepts of program and strategy, this election campaign was an ideal one. But what happened?

Whatever can be said about the program, the party had an issue in this election that transcends all others, handed to them on a platter. The downfall of the Diefenbaker government, brought about by the arrogant interference of the U.S. State Department, and its repercussions through the cabinet, sharply posed the question of the acquisition of nuclear arms for Canadian forces both here and abroad.

There has been no poll taken by anyone over the past several years that didn't show three and four times the number of persons than had ever voted CCF-NDP, opposed to nuclear arms.

The issue of nuclear arms opened up the possibility of winning the support of thousands who have heretofore voted for the Big Business parties, of mobilizing thousands who have abstained from politics, of winning the anti-nuclear youth who could transform the movement into a crusade.

The nuclear arms question threw all three capitalist parties into a crisis. The Tories suffered the defection of three of their cabinet ministers and lost an important part of their Big Business support. Pearson's cynical switch to open support of nuclear arms shook out some prominent Liberals who aligned themselves with the NDP. Social Credit proved unable to adopt a consistent federal policy. And these difficulties only reflected a more profound crisis confronting the capitalist parties.

Big Possibilities in Situation

Political lines have been shattered and shattered again in the past seven years. In 1957, after 22 years of office, the Liberals suffered a crushing defeat and only a year later

appeared to the NDP leadership at least, to be incapable of recovery. The next election dealt a staggering blow to the Tories, witnessed a modest recovery of the Liberals and an upsurge for Social Credit in Quebec. Deputy leader David Lewis opened up his campaign this election with the sweeping prediction that the Progressive Conservatives were spent as a political force.

It is a complete and utter distortion of the facts to say as does the Toronto Labor Council PEC that "our vote held firm and indeed as stated above increased." The NDP was stopped dead in its tracks. The increase that the PEC talks about is a mere 15,000 votes — but there were 220,000 more votes cast. By merely fielding candidates in 23 Quebec ridings where it had none in 1962, the NDP picked up 33,000 votes.

The NDP registered no headway over the previous year and in fact over the vote that the CCF had worked up over the years. And that is just what the present leadership were going to do, to break out of the box that the CCF was in, through eliminating any and all concepts of class from the party program, by purging it of any taint of public ownership and by substituting firm commitments with tricky formulae which would allow mutually exclusive interpretations.

Not only did the NDP vote remain static in the face of this extremely promising situation but all the hopes of an improved strategic position failed to materialize. The Liberal party, which the NDP leadership predicted was washed up and would result in the polarization of conservative forces around the Tories; the Progressive Conservative party which they later predicted was through and would result in the polarization of conservative forces around the Liberals — both parties remain. Where the vote broke out of the old Liberal-Tory ruts it jumped in Quebec into the Social Credit party, which this election saw stabilize its vote and record growth in the urban areas. In four Montreal French working class ridings which it had contested with strong candidates the previous election, the NDP increased its vote from 14 to 16%. Social Credit in the same ridings doubled and in some cases tripled its vote to average 17%.

Where do we go from here?

The most persistent explanation for the failure of the NDP to advance in this election has been the impact of the high powered campaign carried by the leading spokesmen of the Liberals and Tories, and played up by the press, for a stable, for a majority government.

There is no doubt that this had considerable influence on the electorate. But there is also no question that the public utterances of Douglas and other national leaders in the last few weeks played right into the hands of this campaign. In a major speech in New Westminster Douglas completely underwrote the only then developing campaign to present the real struggle as one between the Liberals and Tories with the NDP only playing a futile and at best nuisance role, by declaring that the party only contemplated a balance of power position in the house, which he glossed up as a position that "may hold the solution to what lies ahead for Canada." Subsequently this view was repeated again

and again by party spokesmen, giving official NDP sanction and affirmation to the Liberal-Tory propaganda that the real question was to pick which of them would most likely form the government and to back it up, accordingly.

Underlying the Douglas-Lewis leaderships' policy, and what contributed to make the Liberal-Tory campaign to dismiss the NDP so successful, are the persistent attempts on the part of the same leadership to give the party a respectable image, to win acceptance for it even from its most irreconcilable opponents, to identify the party as part of the Establishment.

What did the campaign strategists do with the nuclear arms issue after Douglas in his campaign kick-off speech committed the party to advance this as the overriding, the key issue confronting the electorate?

Wherever it was raised it won the widest acclaim, the most profound outbursts of enthusiasm and support for the party, nevertheless from Douglas' statement on, there was a retreat away from the nuclear arms issue as Diefenbaker moved out demagogically to pick it up. Very few pieces of constituency literature even mentioned the party's opposition to Canadian acquisition of nuclear arms. Where it was mentioned, it was often garbled, sometimes becoming transformed into a pious statement of opposition to a nuclear war.

While the official party policy is Canadian withdrawal from NORAD and withdrawal from NATO should it become nuclear armed, and while it was obvious that it was the US State department, dominating the NORAD alliance and in control of NATO, which is pressing nuclear arms on Canada, party spokesmen supported the military alliance with U.S. imperialism. There was no talk against NORAD through which Canada is a captive of U.S. cold war strategy. In fact one Toronto candidate openly violated party policy by declaring support of NORAD. As U.S. President Kennedy, at the very height of the campaign, lined up forces to nuclear arm NATO, instead of emphasizing the party's position of opposition and withdrawal from NATO, official spokesmen took an increasingly more positive position of support of NATO, stating that Canada's contribution at least, would preferably be along conventional lines.

Due to the ambiguity of its own position, added to the confusion consciously perpetrated by the capitalist parties, the NDP not only failed to awaken and mobilize the Canadian people to the grave danger but it failed to rally the support of those already opposed to the nuclear arms drive.

Many Canadians, even after two federal election campaigns, have no idea of what the NDP is so that they would even be inclined to support it. To many it is just another political party like the rest of them.

Is it a labor party? No small effort has been made to remove this, what some of the party openly call, "stigma." If you can't tell what it is from what it says about itself—perhaps it can be defined by how it characterizes its opponents, the Liberals and Tories.

From the bulk of official literature and the pre-election issue of the *Ontario New Democrat* you would be hard put to really grasp what the Liberals and Tories are, and certainly that their differences with the NDP are in any way vital. There is no hint that they represent the vested interests, Big Business, or dare we use the word, capital. The Liberals and Tories are described as "weak," "lacking in imagination" they are "lacklustre," they "haven't a program."

That the program of the NDP as it now stands in no way seriously differentiates it from the Liberals Tories and Social Credit was clearly revealed when Douglas rigidly applied it to the question of what to do about runaway plants, such as Ford of Windsor, which are leaving behind unemployment and desolation. It was brought home again when Douglas had to deal with the aftermath of railway line cutbacks in the West, and when Lewis had to take up the question of the stagnation of the Maritimes. They talked in the same terms as the capitalist parties — in terms of incentives to capital, increased subventions and planning.

But it is idle to talk about controlling the economy and planning, without talking about ownership — public ownership. In a full page interview with the *Toronto Star,* which was subsequently reproduced as a leaflet and circulated throughout his riding, deputy leader Lewis, without any authority whatever, dismissed the whole concept of public ownership. The official NDP plan to get the economy rolling again is one of "spend ourselves to prosperity" — little different and not to be taken any more seriously than the funny money schemes of Social-Credit.

Talk-up and Build the Left Wing!

These are harsh comments, but we are confronted by harsh facts which need to be discussed honestly and fearlessly and then acted upon. What is involved here is the future of the party and all the work and hopes that have gone into its shaping.

As best it could, straining every resource at its disposal to rally support to the New Democratic Party, the *(Workers') Vanguard* warned of these very dangers. It did so in the midst of the campaign, through the publication of three special issues, 70,000 of which were distributed across the country, hoping that in this way it might modify the course that it saw the leadership taking the party.

But the *Vanguard's* voice, all the efforts of the League for Socialist Action, the socialists grouped around the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship and the New Left Association, and other socialists scattered across the country are not adequate to meet the task. The new leadership, that it is now obvious the NDP must have, can only be built through a tremendous extension of the forces of the left, by a heightened effort to win the party to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

The first requisite is a wide-open discussion of the election campaign. The rank and file of the party who have no interest other than the truth cannot permit the leadership of

the party to misdirect attention from the real problem by their launching a witch-hunt against the left.

The rank and file must not be hoodwinked by gossip, rumours and chit-chat about alleged conspiracies, and dangerous thoughts that various persons are said to hold. It is necessary to talk about deeds and facts. There are deeds that have been committed and they have been committed by the present leadership of the party. The biggest fact is that three years and two elections after the New Democratic Party was founded it has made no headway over the old CCF vote. The party needs to know the reason why so that it can take the steps it deems necessary to correct the situation.

The Workers Vanguard

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Sask. Doctors Attempt To Sabotage Medicare

By P. KENT

The medical hierarchy in Saskatchewan, organized in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, is continuing its harassing struggle against North America's first publicly administered universal, prepaid, medical care plan. The Saskatchewan government's compromise agreement of last July, whereby doctors were permitted to work outside the plan and thus preserve their own privileges and scale down the benefits accruing to the people, didn't mollify them at all.

The main target of the hierarchy's relentless and bitter struggle to preserve its special interests has been the burgeoning grass roots Community Health Clinics which have signed up 15,000 families, are operating 10 clinics with 28 doctors, and have 27 more clinics in various stages of development. They see the clinics, with their fixed payment concept, as cutting them out of their highly profitable fee-for-service payments.

The conflict has been brought out into the open through several clinic doctors asking the government to institute an enquiry through the Royal Commission on Hospital Privileges. These doctors are demanding government action against discrimination being practiced against them by the province's major hospitals. One of them, practicing in Regina, although he has met all requirements, has been waiting almost a year to be granted hospital privileges. Under the pressure of the hierarchy, no doctor utilizing Regina hospitals has been prepared to sponsor him, necessary under a hospital by-law. Two Estevan Community Clinic doctors have been barred from the use of that town's hospital and have had no recourse but to use the Bienfait hospital, some nine miles distant.

Last year's campaign to smash the government plan by withdrawal of medical services, solidly backed up by vested interests in the drug and medical supplies business, and enthusiastically supported by the Liberal Party, had as its main slogan — freedom for the patient to choose his own doctor, and opposition to regimentation. Just how a public health plan would interfere with a patient's freedom of choice was not clear. But it is obvious that the situation now prevailing in Saskatchewan is not only the rankest type of discrimination against certain doctors, but forces patients to utilize the services of other doctors solely on the basis that they are on the inside, and can provide them with hospital facilities should they require them.

At the height of last summer's conflict over Medicare, a Keep Our Doctors committee sprang up. Its aim was to attempt to rally popular opposition to Medicare by exploiting fears that the medical profession's opposition to socialized medicine was so intransigent that they would callously desert their patients and pull out of the province. Persons identifying themselves with KOD, according to the Hon. A. E. Blakeney, have now become a Keep Out Doctors from Saskatchewan Committee through their efforts to contact and discourage doctors in Britain from taking up posts in Saskatchewan.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons controlled and sponsored Medical Services Incorporated has even stooped to such a petty device of sabotage as refusing to use regular government Medicare forms when making payment claims. The forms used do not go through Medicare's computors and thus, aside from wasting time, have added an estimated cost of $150,000 more because of staff requirements.

Saskatchewan's hospitals, built largely out of public funds and receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars every year in government subsidies, due to the manipulations of the medical top brass, have become publicly financed private clubs for a handful of well-heeled doctors.

The executive council of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, alarmed by the situation, has

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Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, for years Birmingham's leading integration fighter, was injured when hurled against a church by a high-pressure stream of water. Birmingham Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor, who arrived as Shuttlesworth was being taken away in an ambulance said "I wish they'd carry him away in a hearse . . . I waited a week to see Shuttlesworth get hit by a hose. I'm sorry I missed it." In these conditions, when Negroes get no police protection, the demand has been raised that they be deputized by the federal government and armed for self-protection.

NDP Is Only Hope To Stop Arms Race

By C. COTTON

"I know where our group will stand. We will certainly be opposed", said NDP leader T. C. Douglas when asked what his party's position will be in any discussion the government may initiate on Canada acquiring nuclear arms for the Bomarc.

Shortly after the election, Mr. Douglas assured the press that if NATO should become nuclear armed, the NDP would urge Canadian withdrawal from the alliance — that it would implement the formal decision of the founding convention to this effect.

While his government has no mandate to make such commitments, Liberal Prime Minister Pearson has made them. U.S. State Department officials already know, according to Seymour Nelman, professor of industrial and management engineering at Columbia University, that the Pentagon has the capacity to over-kill the population of the 140 major cities of the Soviet Union at least 78 times. And now they express the conviction that the agreement to place the warheads in the Bomarc will be reached by mid-June, and that the warheads will be in position 3 months later.

Mr. Pearson made the agreements in personal conversation with U.S. President Kennedy. Though head of a minority government, with supreme confidence Pearson stated upon his return from his visit to Kennedy that the House would have a chance to discuss "before the final decision in this matter." But he emphasized "there may not be any technical, legal or constitutional requirements for that purpose."

Referring to the position his government intends to take on the multilateral nuclear force being discussed at the NATO ministerial council at Ottawa, Mr. Pearson

See A-ARMS Page 2

BATTLE'S ON AGAINST ONT. NDP WITCH-HUNT

May 4 — A campaign against witch-hunting in the Ontario New Democratic Party was kicked off at a meeting attended by 125 members and supporters of the NDP at the Lansdowne Hall in Toronto this week. The meeting, which was called by a committee formed by 10 youth who have been expelled from the Ontario section, was asked to fight against the witch-hunt of socialists in the NDP. It was urged to demand the immediate reinstatement of the ten expelled. As a measure of its support the audience gave over $50 in a collection to be used for the publication of a pamphlet stating the case of the expelled.

Perhaps the real climax of the meeting, which featured fighting speeches by five of the expelled, were the remarks of Stan Davies, former provincial secretary of the New Democratic Youth, who asked from the floor to make a statement at the end of the meeting. He pointed out that he, as a naive and inexperienced member of the party, had been encouraged to take part in the red-baiting of socialists in the New Democratic Youth.

He described how a witch-hunt atmosphere is generated through rumors and the designation of anyone who disagrees with the leadership as a "Trotskyite". These "Trotskyites" are then described as people "who pay banjoes, wear baggy sweaters, and have beards". Slanderous and often contradictory attacks are then made on the character of these people, he said. The leadership of the party, Davies added, carries out this campaign so that they can intimitate members of the party and isolate the left-wing. "It is easier to expel a person than to argue with him", Davies said, "particularly when your own policies are bankrupt and you may lose the argument." He added that the preparation for the expulsions had begun last autumn with artificially created rumours against the expelled.

Earlier, the chairman of the meeting, Toni Foster, said that she rejected the argument that holding the meeting was hurting the NDP. "The membership has the right to know why ten young people are being expelled from the party." She added: "This is the business of the entire working class of Canada whose future is tied up in the future of the N.D.P. By holding this meeting we are in fact fighting for more democracy in the NDP."

The first speaker was John Wilson, formerly vice president of the Toronto Metro Council of the NDY, member of the Parkdale NDP executive, and a party member for ten years, who unlike the other expelled youth had already had his appeal. The bulk of his talk was spent in describing the anti-democratic nature of his expulsion and the rejection of his appeal. He said that he was expelled for allegedly supporting another political party, a party that was never named! He added that there was no trial, no accusers, no charges, no witnesses, and in fact no evidence, and concluded that the appeal itself was an inquisition and a mockery of justice.

Jim Onyschuk, formerly president of the West Toronto NDY club, the second speaker, told the audience that the 9 other expelled youth had received a letter dated April 18, stating that they had been expelled from the NDP "for membership in and support of another political party, namely the Young Socialist Alliance." He then explained that on April 20, two days after they had been expelled, the provincial executive of the party passed a motion naming this "Young Socialist Alliance" a political party. Onyschuk read a

See YOUTH Page 2

BIRMINGHAM NEGROES 'MAKE A START' IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO WIN EQUALITY

By A. ADAIR

One of humanity's great battles is taking place in Birmingham, Alabama. Beginning in early April, for the first time in the history of the South's steel city, Negroes there began exercising the right of peaceful protest against segregation by means of picket lines, sit-ins and marches. Since then the city officials of Birmingham — utilizing mass arrests, fire hoses and dogs — have shown the world that elementary civil liberties such as free speech and assembly do not exist for Negroes in Birmingham.

The new protest movement follows years of almost fruitless effort by the black community to improve their conditions by waging only a legalistic struggle against racism.

In the struggles of recent weeks, thousands of Negroes, particularly the youth, have displayed a courage and solidarity seldom before matched. Every one imprisoned for taking his stand on the picket line has been quickly replaced by another. Those released tell of grim prison conditions, of poor food and guard brutality, but usually add, "I'd do it again. I'll keep on marching till I get my freedom."

Marvin Robinson, field organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality, replied to a Toronto Star reporter who had suggested the struggle was victorious: "Older Negroes may agree with you, but not the Negro youth. The only sense of achievement I feel is that the Negro finally has made a start."

A victory for the Negro struggle for equality — even a token victory — is yet to be won there. The May 10 settlement, which was hailed by Rev. Martin Luther King as "a great victory" has been sabotaged by the violence of Birmingham's white-supremacist officials.

In addition, the white businessmen with whom the agreement was negotiated have now revealed its terms — at least their version of its terms — to be much less generous than Rev. Martin Luther King originally announced.

According to Sidney Smeyer, the representative of Birmingham's white businessmen, the agreement provided for integration of facilities in downtown department stores within 90 days, but only on a trial basis. The stores agreed to the principle of hiring Negro sales help sooner or later, but guaranteed to hire only one Negro clerk in the entire city within the specified period. Even this clerk would be removed, said Smeyer, in case of "violence on either side."

An article by Fred Halstead in the U.S. socialist weekly, The Militant, states "It is now clear that the agreement guarantees nothing for the Negroes. Whether anything positive comes of it depends on what mass pressure the Negroes can still bring to bear both in Birmingham and nationally — that is in forcing the federal government to put the heat on Birmingham's economic and financial rulers."

Halstead notes "A key problem in this regard is that the positions of armed strength on the scene are held entirely by the white racists — the various city, county and state police forces. These do not protect Negroes in their lawful demonstrations, but attack them. Since last Sunday, indeed, the state troopers stand poised, not with fire hoses, but with shotguns and carbines."

"When those bombs exploded, the Negroes correctly understood

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NDP Is Only Hope To Stop Arms Race

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Referring to the position his government intends to take on the multilateral nuclear force being discussed at the NATO ministerial council at Ottawa, Mr. Pearson

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A-Arms Issue Not Dead

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told the second day's session of parliament that Defence Minister Paul Hellyer and the External Affairs minister will be given final instructions following discussions with the heads of other NATO governments.

There is now no doubt that once the inter-Allied nuclear force is established, the RCAF air division (equipped with strike jet aircraft with nuclear potential) now under Supreme Allied Command in Europe will be turned over to it.

Mr. Pearson has no mandate but he can move with supreme confidence in his course because he knows that no matter what sniping Mr. Diefenbaker, as head of the official opposition may indulge in, he will provide Pearson with whatever support he needs. Before the month is out all the decisions will be made.

Both the Liberals and Tories are firmly committed to the preservation of capitalism at home and colonialism abroad. Such is the purpose of the NATO alliance. That is the purpose of its aggressive nuclear armament.

So ends the period of illusions for the anti-nuclear arms movement in Canada and the drawing of the balance sheet on all those who spread the illusion; first that the Liberals under Pearson could be in some way counted upon to block Canadian commitment to the nuclear arms drive, and then that the Tories — especially the Howard Greens — who committed every act but the final one, who prepared Canada with equipment that was operational only if nuclear armed — were in some way other than demagogically opposed to the nuclear arms race.

While the issue of nuclear arms has shaken wide layers of the Canadian population, so wide that it cut across traditional class formations, so wide that the Liberals and Tories have been very sensitive to it, it remains a class issue.

There is only one party that has taken a position of consistent opposition to the nuclear arms commitment and which "will certainly be opposed". That is the NDP, despite all the shortcomings of its official position as expounded by the Douglas leadership. Those who hoped to oppose nuclear arms, yet continued to nurse and promote the idea that this could be done while at the same time advocating support of the capitalist parties, have been harshly dealt with by life itself.

Equally harshly dealt with are those who imagined and promoted ideas that it was possible to take a half-way opposition to the arms race. For example the May issue of **Canadian Labor**, voice of the leadership of the CLC, thought that it could call for full Canadian participation in NATO, but within that nuclear armed body, play a non-nuclear role. The Jodoin leadership posed this as a "third choice", midway between total opposition to Canada's playing any role in the arms race, and those who were, like Pearson, running top speed to complete Canada's nuclear commitments. But no room has been left for any such "alternatives". The capitalist class, — both in Washington and Ottawa have called the shots — for, or against, Canadian nuclear participation in NATO.

The anti-war movement in Canada has suffered a major defeat. In its principal aim — to stop Canadian acquisition of nuclear arms — it has failed. Its conduct in the last election, its complete failure to mobilize the wide layers of support at its command, is stark evidence of the paralysis that grips such organizations as CCND, whose leadership, in their fevered search for "respectability", have made an almost total retreat from popular mass action into sterile and utopian blind alleys.

The false concept that the question of peace is above classes and above parties has already proved tragically self-destructive, as the socialists warned it would. Its continuation could well prove fatal — at least to the peace movement as it is presently constituted.

This situation can be rapidly reversed and the struggle for peace go forward on a higher plane — but not unless the lessons of the experiences of the past period are thoroughly digested, and not unless a program of militant opposition to the cold war, in all its aspects and ramifications, is adopted. Armed with such a program the peace movement can finally move forward to mobilize those fears and aspirations in wide layers of the Canadian people which gave birth to it in the first place.

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VANGUARD BOOKSTORE, 81 Queen St. West, Toronto, Ontario

The Workers Vanguard #86 - Jun 1963

BATTLE'S ON AGAINST ONT. NDP WITCH-HUNT

May 4 — A campaign against witch-hunting in the Ontario New Democratic Party was kicked off at a meeting attended by 125 members and supporters of the NDP at the Lansdowne Hall in Toronto this week. The meeting, which was called by a committee formed by 10 youth who have been expelled from the Ontario section, was asked to fight against the witch-hunt of socialists in the NDP. It was urged to demand the immediate reinstatement of the ten expelled. As a measure of its support the audience gave over $50 in a collection to be used for the publication of a pamphlet stating the case of the expelled.

Perhaps the real climax of the meeting, which featured fighting speeches by five of the expelled, were the remarks of Stan Davies, former provincial secretary of the New Democratic Youth, who asked from the floor to make a statement at the end of the meeting. He pointed out that he, as a naive and inexperienced member of the party, had been encouraged to take part in the red-baiting of socialists in the New Democratic Youth.

He described how a witch-hunt atmosphere is generated through rumors and the designation of anyone who disagrees with the leadership as a "Trotskyite". These "Trotskyites" are then described as people "who pay banjoes, wear baggy sweaters, and have beards". Slanderous and often contradictory attacks are then made on the character of these people, he said. The leadership of the party, Davies added, carries out this campaign so that they can intimitate members of the party and isolate the left-wing. "It is easier to expel a person than to argue with him", Davies said, "particularly when your own policies are bankrupt and you may lose the argument." He added that the preparation for the expulsions had begun last autumn with artificially created rumours against the expelled.

Earlier, the chairman of the meeting, Toni Foster, said that she rejected the argument that holding the meeting was hurting the NDP. "The membership has the right to know why ten young people are being expelled from the party." She added: "This is the business of the entire working class of Canada whose future is tied up in the future of the N.D.P. By holding this meeting we are in fact fighting for more democracy in the NDP."

The first speaker was John Wilson, formerly vice president of the Toronto Metro Council of the NDY, member of the Parkdale NDP executive, and a party member for ten years, who unlike the other expelled youth had already had his appeal. The bulk of his talk was spent in describing the anti-democratic nature of his expulsion and the rejection of his appeal. He said that he was expelled for allegedly supporting another political party, a party that was never named! He added that there was no trial, no accusers, no charges, no witnesses, and in fact no evidence, and concluded that the appeal itself was an inquisition and a mockery of justice.

Jim Onyschuk, formerly president of the West Toronto NDY club, the second speaker, told the audience that the 9 other expelled youth had received a letter dated April 18, stating that they had been expelled from the NDP "for membership in and support of another political party, namely the Young Socialist Alliance." He then explained that on April 20, two days after they had been expelled, the provincial executive of the party passed a motion naming this "Young Socialist Alliance" a political party. Onyschuk read a

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Youth Fight NDP Witch-Hunt

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quote from Albert Einstein advising a young scientist not to testify at the McCarthyite investigation, and added that the expelled were not answering yes or no to the question of membership in the Young Socialist Alliance because it was a witch hunt question and either answer would in fact be a submission to the witch hunt.

The third speaker, Allan Engler, a CCF-NDP activist for nine years and a former leader of the University of Saskatchewan CCF club, pointed out that all of the expelled youth had stood up for a socialist program in the clubs and at the conventions, and that this was the real reason for the expulsions. After pointing out that the expelled were "pro-nationalization, anti-NATO, and pro-Cuba," he said: "Three Ontario NDYers have visited Cuba, and these same people have now been expelled."

The final speaker, Dick Fidler, a former member of the Ontario NDP provincial council, said that the last election showed that even with a growth in membership and with a position of opposition to atomic arms, we had failed to make any appreciable gains over the old CCF vote. He said that now was the time to question the reasons for the setback. Fidler emphasized that these questions could not be sidetracked by a purge, but had to be discussed in the open by all the members of the party.

Fidler concluded by saying that the NDP was the mass party of Canadian labor and that the 10 expelled youth would support the NDP in spite of the expulsions. He said that the long term solution of the crisis in leadership in the NDP was to go out and work to build the membership, but that the immediate task was to "go back to your constituency organizations and pass resolutions demanding the immediate reinstatement of all the expelled NDY members."

B.C. NDP LEFT WING TAKES STEPS TO ORGANIZE CAUCUS

By E. STRONG

Vancouver area New Democratic Party left-wingers took further steps to organize a permanent caucus in the party in preparation for forthcoming provincial and national conventions.

In a meeting at Hillcrest Hall, with over 70 in attendance, they decided to:

* Elect a 14 man committee to prepare a draft socialist manifesto, a statement of aims, for the left wing, to be brought before the next meeting of the caucus;

* Set up a 12 man committee to prepare as a project for the left-wing, Einstein's pamphlet **Why Socialism** for possible republication, to be sold throughout the movement. The committee will continue to function in an educational capacity, it is hoped.

Jack Scott of the Boilermakers, speaking on the project to republish Einstein's essay, said that if present trends in the party continue "we will face a crisis in the very existence of the party . . . its fate will rest in the hands of groups such as ourselves across the country."

He took two statements—the recent CLC statement on "defense" and Liberal Cabinet member Jack Davis's and compared them to show that basically there was no principled difference between them.

"Socialists in the party," he said, "should fight for and take the lead in recruiting members to the party. They should try to establish individual membership clubs." He pointed to his own experience when he and a group of shift workers were refused a charter just because the views of the group were not acceptable to the provincial leadership.

The publication of Einstein's work and its circulation throughout the membership would raise discussion to a higher level. He called for a restatement of the NDP's position on nuclear weapons — that the question wasn't one of not being able to afford them, but that we are against them for political reasons. "We are against all imperialist wars," he said. He urged a position of non-participation in the OAS and that the socialists should keep aware of the trends towards the Liberals in the party.

Speaking on the need for a socialist manifesto for the left-wing Hugh Clifford, NDP North Shore, said that those in the right-wing often accuse the left of upsetting harmony in the party. They are right, he said, "we upset the harmony of the grave . . ."

"We want a manifesto which we can nail to the mast — an outline of broad principles."

He proposed that the preamble to a socialist manifesto should be linked up with the Regina manifesto and should state that "capitalism . . . by no manner of adjustment and manipulation can continue to serve man's purpose . . ."

The continuation of the class structure of workers and bosses, he said is archaic, and rather than being a democracy "is a negation of democracy".

He said a socialist manifesto should be based on three central concepts:

* Unemployment is inherent in capitalism;
* The cold war has its roots in the fight to control markets;
* The war psychosis is part and parcel of the conspiracy to coerce support from the workers for billion dollar armaments industries.

He said such a manifesto should "appeal for support to all who believe the time has come for far reaching changes in our economic and political institutions . . ."

John Macey, in a brief report on some of the organizational problems confronting the left stated that the first point before the caucus was the question discussed at a previous meeting — whether or not they should take a title.

He saw the necessity of organizing an educational sub-committee within the caucus to distribute news of developments in the party and to organize a left-wing speaker's pool.

He called for the socialists to get themselves elected to club and constituency executives and to become delegates to conventions — this way, he said, we will broaden our support in the party.

Considerable discussion developed around the proposal to republish the Einstein work. Dorothy Steeves felt that it would have been much better if the group concentrated on "getting out something on scientific socialism — an outline of broad principles on the problems confronting us in Canada" rather than printing Einstein's pamphlet. She was of the opinion that it could be printed by the Vogue foundation, an educational institution in the party.

Phil Courneyeur, one of the activists who had been expelled by the NDY executive pointed out that the group needed something to let the socialists in the party know there was a caucus of leftists in existence and he visualized that such a pamphlet would have an introduction written to it.

Under whose name would the leaflet be printed, Ruth Bullock, North Shore NDP, a prominent member of the League for Socialist Action, wanted to know. She pointed to the contradiction confronting the group of having to do something but not having any way of identifying itself. "We want to get away from this anonymous business" such as happened with "Box 16". She was speaking of an earlier experience the left wing of the CCF had when it published an unidentified mimeographed discussion journal.

Margaret Erickson, Vancouver Center and candidate in the last election said that before discussion should occur on whether or not a committee should be elected to write an introduction to the Einstein pamphlet or a socialist manifesto, there should be discussion of whether or not the group should identify itself. She said she was opposed to its calling itself anything, and said she would vote against the motion that a committee be set up to consider the question. She didn't say what she thought the group should do.

Two motions were adopted — to set up a committee to consider the publication of the Einstein pamphlet and write an introduction, and a committee to write a draft manifesto.

Similar to the last caucus meeting, there was in evidence a great deal of confusion in the group, a reflection of its general amorphousness. Very little discussion took place or mention was made of what planks a socialist manifesto would contain. Much mention was made of socialism, but only in the broadest, most general, doctrinaire way. Most of the time was spent setting up the two committees.

An indication of the extent to which the left is befuddled in its desires came when Margaret Erickson, who has long been identified as a left-winger of some stature, nominated Harvey Smith for the committee to draft the manifesto. Smith was one of the iniaters in the expulsion of the eleven NDYers last winter and his nomination to any body in the left wing can only be considered an insult.

Before the adjournment, the caucus decided to meet again on the 26th of May.

The Workers Vanguard #86 - June 1963

A Few Words In Memory Of Paddy Stanton

By Joe Rosenblatt

George "Paddy" Stanton died April 25, 1960, after a lifetime of service to the trade union and socialist movements. He was known from coast to coast as one of the most colorful spokesmen of the working class. The poet, Joe Rosenblatt, was one of the 15 members of the Socialist Educational League who were expelled for their ideas from the CCF in 1955. Paddy Stanton, a CCFer since 1934, was their spokesman.

That awesome power plant
Deep in his chest failed
When death the mad mechanic
On the morning shift
Scabbed the operation.
He died in the morning
In the harness of the class
Of which he was so proud
To be a member.

A GIANT
He shaped an earthy language
Into a spear,
So every "pie card"
Climbing his Jacob's ladder
To a palatial office
Knew their epitaph was his name.

In the summer of '33 they followed
A prairie star to Regina
And a boisterous convention
resolved
A quick funeral for capitalism.

The years passed;
The undertaker becomes a
caretaker
And in a rabid blistering hatred
They banish him from the party
For challenging a pale encyclic.

Their brutal kinsmen—
In the Iron Workers Union
Muzzle his voice
With an edict;
Pay your dues—keep your
mouth shut!

A cerebral monitor flashed
To a few of the time-servers
Who pushed aside their sirloin-
Plated expense accounts
But perished from an inedible
mushroom
Of a marriage with their past.

The others drift into old age
In the parliamentary gas house
Before the real issues
Come to the top of the order paper.

I once gazed into the maw of a
river
Roaring in perpetual anger
And saw the portent of a new
spring
When the globe trembles
And the giants span the
continents.

Joe Rosenblatt

Vanguard Reaches Its Goal

We've all but made it!

Thanks to scores of contributions to the **Workers Vanguard** Fund Drive during the last two months, we've raised almost all of the $3,500 it's going to cost to keep the **Vanguard** rolling off the presses for the next year. Workers from Quebec to BC have generously dug into their pockets to make sure that the voice of socialism in Canada is not stilled.

Here's where it came from:

Toronto	1806.15
Vancouver	893.25
cross country	517.75
Total	$3,217.15

Correctly believing that in this case "it's better late than never", Vancouver supporters wrote to tell us they would raise a total of $1,000 at least, although they wouldn't be able to send it in by May 1st deadline when we'd hoped to close the drive. In Toronto area solid pledges have been given that will soon bring their total over the $2,000 mark. The most remarkable effort was made by friends in Alberta.

The **Vanguard's** supporters have done their job. Now it's our turn. In the next year the **Vanguard** staff will do its best to make the paper an even more effective voice for socialism, to broaden its circulation among working people, and to fight as best it can in their interests.

The Workers
Vanguard

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Quebec Socialist Party Organized Will Collaborate With Federal N.D.P.

By Jean Martin

MONTREAL — An Orientation Conference of New Democratic forces in Quebec, attracting over 200, was held here on the July holiday weekend. It may well prove to be the most significant event in the development of the NDP since the founding convention of the party in 1961. The conference seemed at times headed for a split, and ended on a vote of unstable compromise, yet it piled up an impressive number of achievements.

A new party was launched—the Socialist Party of Quebec. A statement was unanimously approved —the best policy statement endorsed by any NDP body yet. And for the first time a serious attempt was made by a section of the Canadian labor movement to come to grips with French Canadian nationalism.

The overriding question at this conference was that of the relationship of the socialist movement in Quebec to the federal NDP. Three solutions were put forward. Some advocated an independent socialist party, running candidates in both federal and provincial elections. Others, largely English-speaking Canadians associated with the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC) leadership, wished to maintain their present status as an NDP section under the federal constitution. This position proved untenable, and they retreated to what became the eventual compromise solution: an independent party which would restrict itself to the provincial field, leaving the federal field free for the NDP.

The conference opened with the report of Fernand Daoust, president of the Quebec NDP. He recounted how the provisional council of the NDP had been unable to muster a majority for any one of the three formulae, and, fearing a split, had decided once again to postpone the official founding of the Quebec party. He personally wished to give organizational form to the theory of two Canadian nations by forming an independent party. However, he thought a compromise was necessary, and advocated the intermediate solution: independent party provincially, and NDP section federally.

Other proponents of an independent party proved less inclined to compromise. The resolution submitted by Emile Boudreau, stated flatly that the Socialist Party of Quebec should be free of any dependence in either provincial or federal fields to any political party, but would maintain fraternal ties with the federal NDP.

This resolution was debated heatedly for three hours in committee. Opposition came from many quarters, chiefly from trade union and English-speaking delegates, many of whom branded the resolution a concession to separatism.

Reginald Boisvert defended the resolution, insisting that he didn't wish the French-Canadian socialist movement to be subjugated to the same kind of English domination in the NDP which has been the lot of their nation in confederation. They had had enough of that in the old CCF. The French Canadian worker is beginning to realize where the economy of Quebec is controlled, and to demand that it be returned into his hands. The socialist movement could only win the support of these nationalist-minded workers if it presented itself as an independent party.

The committee passed Boudreau's resolution amid an uproar by a majority of two votes. However, as the opposition threatened split a compromise solution was agreed to recognizing the necessity of avoiding a split with any section of the labor movement, which has been the basis for NDP growth in Quebec.

A provisional council for a new provincial Socialist Party was elected. But the struggle is far from over. Many "federalists" are determined to vote the new "Socialist Party of Quebec" out of existence at its founding convention. Boudreau, amending his own reso-

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QUEBEC SOCIALISTS

(Continued from Page One)

lution, explained that the compromise he was agreeing to involved for him only a question of timing; he wished to achieve a full independent party at a later date.

It may be a surprise to English speaking members of the NDP elsewhere in Canada, that the vast majority of NDPers in Quebec are convinced that they must in some way dissociate themselves from the federal party. There have been many developments since the founding convention. The NDP leadership has endorsed the two-nations principle in theory, while violating it in practise.

Even more important has been the growth of a national consciousness among French-Canadian workers. They are demanding autonomy for their government, an end to discrimination by language, and French-Canadian control of their economy. They cannot now be satisfied with symbolic gestures like the substitution of the word "federal" for "national" in the NDP program.

The basic contention of those who carried the day for the SP of Q is that if we are serious in our recognition of two Canadian "nations", and if we wish the labor party of Quebec to truly represent the demands of workers, then we need an independent party in Quebec which can give a socialist answer to the nationalist aspirations of French-speaking workers.

A manifesto for a Socialist Party of Quebec was sent to the new provisional executive for further consideration. It was criticized as favouring the "national" French-Canadian capitalists. One delegate, Roger Bedard, attacked it insisting, "We must be opposed to French-Canadian capitalists. We are opposed to them all, French, English, Chinese, German . . ." Consideration was given to a Quebec Declaration of Human Rights. A document was adopted proposing a new confederative pact between the two nations, giving greatly increased power to the state of Quebec.

The Socialist Party of Quebec certainly begins its life with many severe handicaps. Its founders have not yet elaborated a program. Michel Chartrand, its main spokesman, guided through committee a document on economic planning basically similar to that of the federal NDP. It envisages nationalization only when it would in fact serve the interests of private enterprise by providing cheap power, cheap transportation, cheap raw materials, etc. The document dismisses the question of democratization of planning with the flippant sentence, "The government will assure the workers of the right to be informed of what their company anticipates to do under the plan." An amendment advocating workers' control was itself amended into meaningless-ness.

Another burden to the party is the conservatism of Quebec trade union leaders, particularly of the QFL. While some endorsed the new party, the majority denounced it and showed a firm opposition to any serious recognition of the national question.

In spite of the difficulties which it faces, the Socialist Party of Quebec shows promise of becoming the first genuine Labor Party of French-Canadian workers. The Orientation Conference certainly took important steps towards understanding and representing their national and economic grievances.

BLAMES GOV'T FOR MURDERS

The delegates at the annual convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (CLC) placed the responsibility for the cold-blooded murder of three striking loggers and the wounding of nine more at Reesor Siding last February 11, right where it belongs—on the logging bosses and the Ontario government.

The resolution passed by the 87 delegates said that the conflict which resulted in a group of independent woodcutters, under the squeeze of the pulp and paper barons, opening fire on a crowd of several hundred strikers "was caused by the complete disregard of the laws of the province of Ontario by the department of labor and the department of lands and forests."

Last month 138 of the strikers, members of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (CLC), were found guilty of unlawful assembly by the courts. They were fined $200 each or three months in jail. Charges of rioting were dropped. The 20 independent woodcutters charged with non-capital murder have yet to appear before the court.

Following the passage of the resolution by the Carpenter's convention the department of labor announced that it will open the investigation that it had promised two months after the blood-letting at Reesor Siding.

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The Workers Vanguard #87 - July 1963

Ottawa Picket Joins Wide Protest Against Arrest of Peruvian Leader

A picket line protesting the arrest and imprisonment of Hugo Blanco, the world famous leader of the peasants of Peru, appeared before the Peruvian Embassy in Ottawa in the afternoon of June 27. Many passersby on the main traffic artery in the fashionable district where the embassy is located stopped to read their signs demanding the immediate release of Blanco, protesting that he was guilty of no crime but of liberating the peasants from servitude and exploitation.

When embassy officials were approached with a letter for the ambassador they said he was not in. But as the picket continued and a policeman appeared threatening arrest on the charge of vagrancy and demanding everyone's address, the ambassador appeared to protest against the picket. Shortly after the first secretary appeared to take movie pictures of the action.

Vernel Olson, national chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, in an open letter to the Ambassador of Peru ridiculed the charge of murder that has been laid against Blanco. Olson stated that Blanco "leading peasants in the destruction of the medieval land system," could only be considered a criminal by "the landlords of Southern Peru," and demanded his unconditional release. Ross Dowson, national secretary of the League for Socialist Action, also sent a formal protest to the Peruvian Embassy in the name of the League.

The Peruvian Embassy in London, England, has also been picketed by persons protesting the arrest of Blanco — one picket organized by the Socialist Labor League and the other by a newly created Release Hugo Blanco Committee. A joint demonstration is scheduled to be held shortly. **Peace News**, published by the Committee of 100 in London, carried a front page article, June 28, entitled Save Hugo Blanco.

The Embassy of Peru in Brussels, Belgium, has been the site of a demonstration of Socialist youth and students. In Rome, Italy, a campaign has been launched under the auspices of the University Students Association — Communist, Socialist and other youth organizations are participating. A demand for a public trial with all facilities for an international team of lawyers to appear in Blanco's defence has been made and a signature campaign urging his release is planned.

WHO IS BLANCO?

Hugo Blanco, the 29 year old, Peruvian peasant leader was arrested after having eluded police dragnets and military detachments for more than a year. The fact that Blanco is being held incommunicado and that officials are so close-mouthed about his capture and imprisonment could mean torture or refusal of needed medical supplies since it is known that Blanco was ill when captured.

Called a Communist by the North American press, Blanco has in fact been an active member of the Trotskyist movement since his youth, and is now one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Peru.

Although arrested as a criminal he is guilty only of attempting to lead the peasantry against a decayed and inhuman feudal system. In Peru farm laborers often have to work without pay for landlords three to four days out of the week for the simple right to cultivate a tiny plot of the **hacienda's** poorest land for their own use. Ten to twelve people live in a single room. Per capita income on the coast is about $120 a year. The 1,200 landlords who own 80% of all the arable land in the **sierra** may call Blanco a criminal, but the 20,000 peasant families who own only three-quarters of one percent—with some of their plots being measured not in acres but in furrows—call him their leader.

Blanco is a student of agronomy who speaks several languages, including Quechua, the language of the Indian peasants in the Valle de la Convencion. After leaving university Blanco became a shoe shine boy in order to organize the Shoeshine Boys' Guild, which became affiliated to the Cuzco Federation of Labor.

One year later, — three years ago — he went to the Valle de la Convencion, located to the northeast of Cuzco, with the aim of organizing the **campesinos**, in their majority Indians, into unions. When the number of these unions reached 75 they joined the **Federacion Provincial de Campesinos.** Hugo Blanco became Secretary in Charge of Defense, and delegate for the Union of Chaupimayo.

Near Chaupimayo there is a large sign which reads: "Free Territory of Chaupimayo." There the **campesinos** have a large short wave radio set with which they keep informed of the events occuring in the world which until a short time ago were unknown to them.

Discussing the liberated areas, the Cuban magazine **Bohemia** says, "The union controls production as well as relations among the **campesinos.** It distributes the land, pays teachers, administers justice, and it issues a mimeographed newspaper . . . Leadership is collective and they hold weekly meetings to discuss solutions of their problems at which heated debates are conducted in Quechua."

The Peruvian paper, **Expresso,** in an issue which appeared October 28, 1962, had an extensive interview with Blanco in Chaupimayo. It reported that 40 of the 380 estates in the Valle de la Convencion had been parcelled out. When delegations from **campesino** unions came for advice from "companero Blanco," the reporter said, he invariably told them that they should take possession of the rented lands which they are working; they should stop paying rents, and they should not work for the landowners. They should parcel out the fallow lands. They should expel the landowners.

The paper quoted Blanco as saying, "We want to destroy the system of big estates. We don't want to kill **gamonales** (big landowners). We don't feed on blood, but on the products of the soil."

The correspondent said that Blanco said he was an organizer of peasant unions and emphatically denied that there were guerrillas in the Valle de la Convencion. But he added, "there will be when the oligarchies so desire it and when the government sends troops to destroy our agrarian reform."

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The Workers Vanguard

Vanguard Tour Report On Ontario Experiences

For the past few years several youth, they have been nicknamed **The Trail Blazers**, have volunteered their summer holidays to cross Canada to the West Coast selling the **Vanguard**, along with related literature, meeting and talking to workers, unionists and other socialists, spreading the ideas of the **Vanguard**. This year, for the first time, four young socialists are heading into a new region — new for us that is — the Maritime provinces and Quebec.

A successful trial run was made during the month of June through south-western Ontario. After hundreds of discussions, and after noting what literature roused the most interest, the **Trailblazers** have concluded that two major subjects stand out above all others in the minds of radicals in this area. These are, first, what is the truth about Cuba, and second, what does the future hold for the New Democratic Party.

Probably uppermost in the minds of most is the question mark now around the future of the New Democratic Party in light of what most saw as an electoral setback on April 8.

In addition, the expulsion of the socialists has left deep scars on the party in Southern Ontario.

The **Trailblazers** met dozens of people who the leadership has denied membership to, and because of their ideas, and not any actions in violation of the party's interests. For every one expelled, several have dropped out, disillusioned, or refuse to join the NDP. Some are leading unionists. One whom the **Trailblazers** met was Nels Dearing, recently re-elected, by an overwhelming majority, as secretary of the giant United Auto Workers Local 444 in Windsor.

Dearing is an NDP supporter all the way, and not long ago applied for membership. The local party was pleased to accept his application, but when it got to headquarters in Toronto, the provincial executive turned it down because he had supposedly several years earlier been a member or supporter of the Communist Party. Although Dearing still advocates support of the NDP his efforts are badly undercut when every worker in the plant knows the NDP brass are keeping one of their leaders out.

The **Trailblazers** found that the NDP leadership's campaign against their left opponents, coupled with the failure of the right wing to win new adherents to its program on April 8, has resulted in many areas in demoralization of the rank and file.

Many who might otherwise have been indifferent, were, in these conditions, quite friendly and anxious to read the **Vanguard's** analysis.

B. C. DRIVE GAINS NEW SUBSCRIBERS

Having sent in another $107 to put their contribution to the Vanguard financial drive up to $1,000 — the highest yet — friends and supporters of the Vancouver League for Socialist Action decided to take the next move. They have launched a drive to win 125 new subscribers to the paper. One of the features of the campaign, which will be concentrated in the Vancouver area, will be the weekend and holiday jaunts that teams will be making into outlying communities.

Over the July holiday weekend a squad went up the coast to the pulp and paper mill town of Powell River. A town ordinance prevented door to door canvassing but contact work amongst NDPers who were friendly and whose curiosity about the **Vanguard** was considerably heightened by the party brass' attacks on the paper, netted 39 subscriptions — 9 of them for two years. Some donations were also gratefully received.

A campaign by Toronto friends and members of the LSA has so far racked up 203 new subscribers.

The Workers Vanguard #87-July 1963

Think It Over . . . **by Ruth Mitchell**

ON THE BIRTH OF OUR BABY

For some women the process of pregnancy, birth and child-rearing is a joy, for some it's a mere duty, and for still others it is a matter of misery, worry, and constant frustration. Many people would write off this difference in attitudes among women by saying that nature has simply cut some women out to be better mothers than others. After spending a few weeks in a large maternity ward, though, I would say—No. Most women can enjoy children and the bearing of them. It is just that our society makes motherhood pretty rough on some of us.

Pregnancy makes some women nauseate, some fat, and gives others varicose veins and ugly stretch marks. Some women have a hard time, while others seem to breeze through their pregnancies. All this can vary. But all pregnant women are anxious about the child they are carrying. The question "Will it be normal?" haunts many a mother through pregnancy, and often the most urgent question in her mind after that is "How can we afford this baby?"

The grim mood of depression and fear which haunts a pregnant woman whose husband is unemployed or who is already badly in debt robs many a mother of her instinctive feeling of hope and loving expectation, turns countless pregnancies into hateful and dreaded chores.

You can't afford to eat the proper food. The vitamin pills you got on sale somehow look inferior to the shiny bottles of essential supplements which wealthier women can afford to spend up to $15 a month on. You have to keep working up to the last minute, and your aching legs and back aside, you are sure that all the bending, lifting and climbing of stairs is not good for you or the baby. And all this that the experts say about a nap every afternoon and eight hours sleep each night! Easier said than done when you have other young children or when you work a 40 hour week. But maybe it would be better if this baby didn't survive the pregnancy after all. Because getting it born is really only a small part of the problem.

How are you going to feed the new baby properly? Keep him warm this winter? Pay the extra heat and light bills? Find room for him? Then he'll want toys and other things you can't afford to give him. You visualize the endless demands he'll make that you know you will never be able to satisfy.

Our society makes loving babies unreservedly and without fear, as they should be loved, a luxury never to be enjoyed by the many who live with poverty. And there are still other anxieties.

We only have Medicare in one province in Canada, and it seems to me that Saskatchewan would be the only place where someone like myself, who doesn't have much money, could feel at all secure having a baby. For example, it was only by a piece of good luck that I happened to have about $20 extra dollars on hand to invest in a private medical plan this year. But even the plan that I got didn't cover drugs, and it went so far as to specifically prohibit my going to an obstetrician.

Of course, it might be argued that most pregnant women don't need that many drugs, and also that a good general practitioner can handle most pregnancies. But what if the pregnancy is not "normal"? And even if it is, why should some people be expected to be satisfied with less than the best of medical attention?

And drugs — because of the Thalidomide scare, there has been a lot of talk these days about how women should not take pills at all during pregnancy, and many doctors say that problems like nausea and sleeplessness are all in our minds anyway, and should just be ignored. But I've seen girls who have had to stay in hospital for weeks fighting a stubborn case of "morning sickness' (which can also be noon and night sickness) and it's easy to say "ignore it" if you don't have to go to work every day or look after other children.

The big drug companies play a deadly game with pregnant women. Not only do they fail to test their drugs properly, exposing the expectant mother to danger herself or to the heartbreak of bearing a deformed child, but they make the cost of the drugs which she needs prohibitive. I would not be able to call any Medicare plan really complete myself, until I was sure that these companies were brought under public ownership.

Some women may fear the birth of a baby, some may anticipate the event, and some may hate the very thought of it. But one thing is sure, and that is that no woman can be indifferent to the child she is carrying. As the baby grows stronger and more active inside her, her concern and anxiety for it grows greater and more intense. Surely it is one of capitalism's most cruel tricks that the women of the class which built and sustain it have to suffer such needless and agonizing worries in what should be the happiest time of their lives.

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Gov't. Disavows Test Ban Signature by Signing Canada into Nuclear Club

The recent signing of the limited treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere and outer space is provoking an enthusiastic response from wide layers of world public opinion. Here in Canada, comment has ranged from Prime Minister Pearson's pious statement that it represents a first step toward total disarmament, to Canadian Labor Congress President Claude Jodoin's remark: "It's marvellous for the human race". The Canadian Communist Party's organ, the **Tribune**, exclaims ecstatically: "It shows that peaceful coexistence can work." And amidst considerable publicity and ceremony, the Liberal government signified its support by being among the first to affix its seal of approval to the document.

But no sooner was the ink dry, than the government on August 16 formally ratified the acquisition of nuclear weapons. These feindish instruments of mass destruction are soon to be positioned on four weapons systems — the Bomarc B ground-to-air missiles situated in Quebec and Ontario, the Voodoo interceptor aircraft stationed at five other points across the country, the CF-104 Starfighter strike-reconnaissance aircraft and the Honest John artillery rockets stationed overseas. And now the Defence Department has announced that the 6,500-man Canadian Infantry Brigade in West Germany will shift its operational area 75 miles eastward until it is right up against the "Iron Curtain". Thus the Cold War rages on.

By refusing to let the Commons defence committee receive "classified" information, including the actual details of the nuclear agreement, government authorities are able to maintain strict control over the terms of inquiry of the committee. Such secrecy takes place against a background of criticism and confusion surrounding the government's defence policy. For example, although government spokesmen have made much of so-called security measures (the "two-key system", etc.), a Canadian Press Ottawa dispatch appearing in the Vancouver **Sun** of July 13th states that defensive commanders in the event of what they might consider "an all-out surprise bomber assault on North America, could use nuclear weapons without reference to the Canadian or the United States Governments, informed sources say. North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) has such authority under such conditions, they say."

The cynical and high-handed act of nuclear-arming Canadian troops, carried out by a minority government which has been given no mandate by those with the greatest stake in the issue — the Canadian people themselves — underlines the limitations and weaknesses of the test ban treaty. In essence, the treaty embodies proposals identical to those advocated by the Eisenhower Administration five years ago.

(See Page 4 — TALKS PEACE)

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EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON

Talks Peace, Prepares War

(Continued From Page One)

It does not ban underground tests — the United States government has carried out two such explosions in Nevada since the signing of the treaty. The French government has indicated clearly that it will continue testing atomic weapons despite the treaty. And there is nothing in the agreement which prevents further developments of nuclear weapons. While it is beneficial that there be no further marked increase in the amount of radioactive material in the atmosphere, for no matter how short a time, the cold war relationship of forces has been in no way altered to the side of peace.

Spokesmen for the United States State Department and the Pentagon have hastened to point out the benefits which the ban gives the American capitalist class in its military strategy. Averell Harriman, chief U.S. negotiator, pointed out that the treaty in no way inhibits the use of nuclear weapons in war. Defence Secretary McNamara states that the U.S. numbers its nuclear warheads in the tens of thousands, that it has more than 500 missiles and will have 1,700 by 1966, as well as hundreds of strategic bombers on air and quick-reaction alert, and that this superiority will be prolonged rather than diminished by the treaty.

This was so, McNamara told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, because testing would be limited to underground, and in this environment the U.S. has had substantially more experience; hence the treaty would at least retard Soviet progress and prolong the duration of American technological superiority. From the Pentagon's point of view, he stated, "the risks under the treaty are either small or under our control, and the values of the treaty (for American interests) are substantial". McNamara also revealed that the U.S. government plans a stepped-up program of underground tests and will maintain the laboratories and sites to launch a major atmospheric series "should the need arise". It remained only for President Kennedy, chief spokesman for the New Frontier, to stress that today the United States has enough nuclear power to "kill 300,000,000 people" in an hour, and to add in an inadvertent slip of the tongue, "Even with a limited test ban we could improve on that."

As veteran reporter James Reston of the **New York Times** puts it, in describing the much-touted test ban: "What is at issue is merely that the great men who were not testing above ground, have agreed formally and tentatively not to test above ground, and have done so in a treaty that anybody can denounce if he thinks the other fellow, whom he doesn't trust, is about to test. It is not a bad idea, but there is really less here than meets the eye."

The fact is that the Pearson government has utilized the illusions that have been whipped up around the test ban to more firmly commit Canada to the U.S. State Department's offensive nuclear strategy and to place Canadian NATO forces in an even more offensive posture in relation to the USSR.

It is imperative that the New Democratic Party and the Canadian peace movement mobilize their forces behind NDP leader Douglas' demand that the government reopen the nuclear arms debate in Parliament, with the intention of forcing renunciation of the agreement. Now is the time,

Demonstrate Solidarity With Negro March on Washington

Almost 300 Torontonians didn't let rain stop them from demonstrating their solidarity with the 200,000 Negroes and whites who flooded into the U.S. capital of Washington at the same time to demand far reaching civil rights legislation NOW.

As the Toronto parade moved out from under the protection of the protico of the Ontario parliament building towards the U.S. Consulate it was headed up by Jack White, NDP provincial candidate in Toronto Dovercourt, Jean Daniels, president of the Anti Apartheid Association (both Negroes), Robert Carter, a Unitarian minister, and Anne Olson, distributor of **The Crusader**, published by the militant Negro leader Robert F. Williams, exiled in Cuba.

The demonstration was notable for the good representation in its ranks of Toronto's small Negro population. and the strong statement to the assembly, as it stood in the rain in front of the U.S. Consulate, over the names of Jack White, Jean Daniels, and Anne Olson who read it.

Declaring that "Canadians can no less identify themselves with this struggle for Black Emancipation today than they did during the American Civil War a century ago," it scored not only Congress but U.S. President Kennedy for failure to end the Jim Crow system with the comment "your present limited proposals come only after massive unrest and nationwide demonstrations."

The ad hoc committee, with White as its chairman and Olson as its secretary, which hastily called the demonstration into existence, expressed confidence that given better weather it could have been one of the biggest in Toronto for many years.

A Socialist Manifesto for NDP

The birth of the New Democratic Party is potent evidence that the myth of "capitalist affluence" is on the wane. A million votes in the recent federal election for the NDP provides additional support for this contention.

We socialist members of the NDP recognize that this organization is not yet a socialist party. We recognize that at this time the effort of the party is more directed to radical reform and social welfare. However, the organization is based essentially on the working class and the trade unions, and of necessity the NDP tends in a socialist direction inasmuch as its program contains demands for basic reform, which by nature are anti-capitalist.

The federated character of the NDP, an inheritance from the CCF, provides a political vehicle whereby various schools of radical and socialist thought may work together in the interest of the common man. This federated feature of the party must not only be maintained — but expanded.

The short-lived illusion of prosperity of the "fabulous fifties" is no longer with us. Half a million workers are seeking employment; many more are wondering how secure they are in the jobs they do hold. Small businessmen seek answers to the question as to what has caused the decline in trade. Farmers are at the mercy of a market they do not control.

Automation, instead of appearing as a friend, stands before us as a spectre and harbinger of further unemployment.

Over all hangs an ominous cloud of military preparation, which pollutes the atmosphere with atomic tests, and the spirit of mankind with fear of universal destruction.

The conventional remedies of successive Liberal and Conservative governments have demonstrated to us that they are as futile today as they have been in the past.

The solution to unemployment is not to be found in tax concessions to big business, nor in a reduction of welfare benefits for working people.

The curtailment of an arms race is not to be found in extending the "military strike capability" and making Canadian soil available to a foreign power for military bases.

The problems posed by automation are not to be answered by increasing international tension with accelerated drives for rapidly receding world markets.

These apparently unrelated matters, however, all have their roots in the same cause — the inflexible determination of those who exercise control over the economy and government to perpetuate a capitalist system that by no manner of adjustment or manipulation can contrive to serve man's purpose.

This system necessitates a number of essential features:

(1) The existence on the one hand of a segment, or class of society, which owns the means of production; and on the other hand, a class of wage earners who depend on them for employment in order to acquire the necessities of life.

(2) Production is carried on solely in pursuit of profit. The satisfaction of human need and the guarantee of employment as a human necessity, does not exist under capitalism.

(3) A struggle for markets — popularly misrepresented as competition — is in fact conflict, the ultimate of which on the international level, is war.

Ultimately there is but one solution to all these problems and all they imply: that is the establishment of a true political and economic democracy whereby the basic means of production and distribution and all our vast natural resources — in effect the commanding heights of the economy — shall be owned and controlled by the people through their various levels of administration. Only then will democratic social planning be possible. The wealth of the nation, socially produced, will be socially distributed.

Recognizing that the existence of immediate problems demands immediate answers and action and cannot wait for ultimate solutions, we therefore propose the existing NDP program be extended to include:

(1) Canadian withdrawal from all military alliances, particularly NATO and NORAD; and no participation in the Organization of American States (OAS).

(2) Unilateral disarmament for Canada.

(3) Cessation of Canadian participation in ABC (Atomic Bacteriological, and Chemical experiments being carried on for the purpose of war).

Normal diplomatic and trade relations with all countries, and active support for the struggles for, or maintenance of national independence of all nations, as represented in the Americas by Cuba.

In order to preserve the national independence of Canada we call for:

(1) Socialization of all foreign owned industries, and the planned development of secondary industries.

(2) Nationalization of all financial institutions, including insurance.

Although unemployment is inherent in the capitalist system the following proposals are considered minimum steps required in order to deal with current needs:

(1) Planned development of secondary industries mainly under public ownership.

(2) Revision of the Unemployment Insurance Act to provide adequate benefits covering the entire period of unemployment. General upward revision of insurance benefits to equal wages normally earned.

(3) Establishment of a six-hour day and a 30-hour week without any reduction in take-home pay. Legislation of a mandatory three-week holiday with pay after one year of employment.

(1) Guarantee of jobs to young Canadians leaving school; and failing this, extension of the Unemployment Insurance Act to provide coverage for this group.

(2) Universal free education, including technical-vocational, college, and university. There must be provision of adequate maintenance allowances for those attending institutions of higher learning.

(3) The legal age shall be lowered to 18 years.

Socialists are unalterably opposed to the inequality of individual or group rights in the structure of present society.

We therefore propose that the NDP will continue to take the lead in fighting against any manifestation, or application, or discriminatory practice against individuals or organizations.

Further, we socialists propose that when elected NDP governments, both Provincial and Federal, will enact legislation which will preclude arbitrary politi'al,

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Presented by B.C. Socialist Caucus Headed by Cox, Macey & Clifford

A Suggested Socialist Manifesto for the NDP, published over the name of the BC Socialist Caucus, was circulated among the delegates at the Regina convention. Late last winter one of the signers, Cedric Cox, was scandalously attacked by NDP provincial leader Robert Strachan for quite properly accepting an invitation from the Cuban government to observe with his own eyes the course of the revolution there.

This month Cox was again censored by the BC NDP leadership for accepting an invitation, along with NDP M.P. Bert Herridge, to address a May Day meeting called by a Vancouver Oilworkers local. John Macey and Hugh Clifford who have also signed the manifesto are both well known BC NDPers. It was they who initiated the meetings in Vancouver early this summer that led to the formation of the caucus and the drawing up of this statement.

The delegates to the Regina convention were met before and after almost every session with various pieces of literature. A statement by a group of youth expelled from the BC New Democratic Youth was distributed along with another drawn up by a group of youth expelled from the Ontario section of the party and youth.

The Young Socialist Forum, one-time the official organ of the BC NDY but still published by the expelled youth, was sold. PRESS, proscribed by the BC NDP leadership, was sold. The VANGUARD, also proscribed in BC, was distributed to the mass meeting called to hear deputy leader of the British Labour Party, George Brown. A pamphlet dealing with the case of the expelled Ontario youth was widely purchased by the delegates as was FOUR CANADIANS WHO SAW CUBA, published by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The Nanaimo NDP constituency circulated a mimeographed leaflet of longtime NDP-CCF supporter Jack Scott's column that originally appeared in the SUN, criticizing the cynicism and expediency of the party's official position on NATO.

racial, social, or economic discrimination, either direct or indirect, against any individual or group of persons. This enactment will afford protection for the individual or group against social practice which contravenes this concept of freedom, or from perversion or misapplication of existing law.

Any law or segment of law which supplies cover for discriminatory practice will be repealed.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the problems which confront us today are symptomatic of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system.

A deliberately sponsored war psychosis will continue to be part of a conspiracy to coerce workers into support of "defence" programs so long as there is profit in war production.

Unemployment, insecurity, and continuing attacks on all welfare programs will be with us as long as we condone an economic system in which all the national resources, and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled, and operated for the private profit of a small minority.

We socialist members of the New Democratic Party say that no NDP government should rest content until we have eradicated capitalism and put into full operation the program of socialized planning leading to the establishment of a socialist commonwealth.

We appeal for support to all who believe the time has come for far-reaching changes to our economic and political institutions, and who are willing to work together to play a creative role in mankind's struggle for progress and a future, worthy of the name, for our children.

With Socialist Greetings,
Cedric Cox, M.L.A.,
Burnaby, B.C.
Hugh Clifford,
West Vancouver, B.C.
John Macey,
Vancouver, B.C.
July 1963
NDP B.C. Socialist Caucus

The Workers Vanquard #88 Aug. 1963

Where is NDP Youth Going?

The RCMP came under strong attack for prying into "political beliefs of a person (which) are his own", and an investigation of the RCMP itself was called for by the New Democratic Youth convention held in Regina. Unlike the debate in the party a week later, no one pretended that NATO is not nuclear armed — this was taken for granted—and the movement went on record for Canadian withdrawal from this aggressive military alliance. A strong resolution condemning U.S. State Department harassment of Cuba was passed.

But the few good resolutions there were, scarcely came under debate and it is not at all clear how much they represent the opinion of those youth in attendance and what they mean for the future. One thing was clear — they are not at all the opinion of those who have taken office and are responsible for future public policy of the youth. There was scarcely a major resolution passed which one or another of the persons composing the official leadership did not vigorously speak out against.

When it came to the presentation of a proposed statement of purpose it became clear that the NDY leadership doesn't know where it is going. Lyle Christiansen confessed to having read it several times and having been unable to make it out. This caused another top leader to seriously comment that this was one of its great merits.

The convention opened under an oppressive atmosphere with two of the Ontario expelled youth whose appeals have not yet been heard by the Ontario convention or the Ontario NDP provincial executive, being barred from even sitting in the room where the public sessions of the convention were underway. The expulsions in Ontario and B.C. and related matters were the subject of a wide debate that took up almost one full day of the two day conference and spread over to the floor of the adult convention the following week. There the leadership of the youth divested themselves of such matters with the help of the party brass by enthusiastically supporting a constitutional amendment that has deprived the youth of its autonomy by taking all disciplinary powers away from it.

No one before in history has proven able to build a youth movement of any importance under the circumstances that now confront the NDY. The now retired federal president of the NDP, Michael Oliver, commenting on the Ontario and BC expulsions, clearly defined the NDP leaderships' attitude to the youth. "A party like ours will always attract people who believe there is something radically wrong with society. We have to be careful," he warned, that "they don't use us to pursue aims which are external to the party."

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

in Vancouver
875 East Hastings.

in Toronto
81 Queen St. W.

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD #88 - Aug. 1963

THE MARITIMES WARM UP TO TRAILBLAZERS

The high cost of transport prevented our Vanguard Trailblazers from taking their truck from Nova Scotia across the Cabot Strait to Port aux Basques so that they could go right through Newfoundland talking socialism, winning new subscribers to the Vanguard, circulating books and pamphlets presenting the socialist viewpoint on the key questions of our times. They were forced to make the voyage without the truck and thereby limit their visit to the mill town of Cornerbrook, dominated by Bowaters.

They have demonstrated that there is a genuine interest in socialism there by sending in scores of subscriptions from Cornerbrook. One of the team, Cliff, writes us that "the atmosphere in the town is one of healthy class consciousness and declining trust and confidence in Liberal Premier Joe Smallwood. The IWA strike and the election campaigns of Ed Finn for the NDP have gone a long way to increase understanding of what must be done here. Of course, the poor living conditions and unemployment contrast sharply with the five to six million dollars profit that the Bowaters empire nets annually from this town of 26,000, and the lumbermen in the surrounding bush.

"We were given a very friendly reception by both the leading activists in the NDP and the trade union movement. They all call themselves socialists — and they are. Some have said that the Woodworkers' strike was lost. This is not so. Although the union wasn't certified and the Carpenters have allowed themselves to become a company union for Anglo-Newfoundland Development, there are still lots of sparks in the woods — men who continue to pay dues to the IWA and prepare for another day. The Pulp and Sulphite workers at Grand Falls, we were told, see their mistake in not supporting the IWA then, and will not repeat it. It is this widespread class consciousness upon which the NDP has been built — which in the last federal election rolled up 20% of the vote — the highest on the island."

The Trailblazers spent ten days on Cape Breton Island. This region, they write, "once famous for its trade union militancy, until this spring's election had for almost 20 years elected a CCF member (Claire Gillis) to Ottawa. Now, in the wake of an increasingly depressed eocnomy, there is little or no militancy — and following the electoral loss of NDP candidate McInnis to a Tory, there is widespread doubt about the future of the NDP — even among the party's strongest supporters.

"You don't have to talk about the threat of unemployment here — you see it everyday as you pass by closed down colleries. According to one miner a dozen have closed down in as many years — each laying off around a thousand men. United Mine Workers membership has dropped off from a one-time high of 14,000 to only 6,600 men. Each closure has the further effect of driving small businesses and shops closer to bankruptcy. Some like Dominion and Reserve are almost ghost towns.

"What everyone wants to know is how the unemployment can be ended, other than by following Liberal Finance Minister Gordon's suggestion that everyone should pull out for other parts — as many are doing. It would appear that during last April's election campaign this question went unanswered by the NDP candidate, or at least was not answered to the satisfaction of the miners.

"Claims that McInnis' poor showing were due to a snow storm were undercut by other NDPers' observation that the Liberal vote was up a couple of thousand and the Tory vote was up several hundred. The most common reason given was that when McInnis stated over TV that he thought MP's should receive $15,000 annually and that $10,000 was not enough for an MP to live on, miners and mill workers who have to scrape by on $3 or $4,000 a year ceased to think of him as one of them, and voted for the Tories, who ran a miner.

"The policy here was apparently the same as across the rest of Canada — vague talk about planning but no word about public ownership of the closed collieries and their re-opening to provide jobs, or of the introduction of a shorter work week. We got a good response when we talked along these lines.

While there is little or no motion, the past has not been forgotten — many told us about 'the good old days' of the strikes and when Malcolm Bruce and others used to speak here. We were out at the campus of St. Francis Xavier Junior College when a political science instructor saw us. Two minutes later without preparation, only a few hurriedly made notes, two of us found ourselves explaining 'What is Trotskyism!' to a summer class of about 40 students -- including a group of eight nuns. After our short speeches there was forty or fifty minutes devoted to answering questions."

When the Trailblazers got to Halifax they wrote us: "It looks like the honeymoon is over — the population here is largely white collar, government administrators, military and ship workers, even the latter are non-political and are kept employed by government military contracts. There appears to be little trade union or political consciousness here. We got into a discussion with a prominent trade unionist in the area. We asked him how the brass' labor-management co-operation policies were working out. This is where the CLC leadership put on its first big effort. We asked if it had solved any major problems of the unions. His immediate reply was 'No', and then more thoughtfully . . . 'well it takes time . . . a couple of small strikes settled . . . that is', hesitantly, 'by management coming over.' Meanwhile unemployment increases in Halifax."

And now they are headed over to Prince Edward Island.

LSA HOLDS NATIONAL RALLY IN VANCOUVER

Last month in Vancouver the League for Socialist Action held its first national conference since its formation three years ago. The LSA was organized just prior to the formation of the New Democratic Party through the fusion of the Socialist Educational League of Toronto and the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver and their supporters across the country. It set itself the aim at that time of participating in the debates in the trade union movement and the old CCF, and organizing a national caucus of left wingers who would commence the struggle to win the new party to a class struggle program and a socialist objective.

This conference of the LSA assembled on the eve of the second federal convention of the New Democratic Party. Among the leading reporters and participants in the discussions were Ruth Bullock, Ernest Tate, Malcolm Bruce and Ross Dowson.

The discussions revolved mainly around two documents — one a balance sheet of Two Years of the NDP, the other an assessment of the achievements and significance of the Cuban Revolution. There was an extended discussion on a trade union report with particular emphasis on the question of Canadian union autonomy.

The discussion on the NDP followed on the heels of the expulsion of a considerable number of socialist youth from both the B.C. and Ontario New Democratic Youth and persistent harassment of the **Vanguard** by the top reformist leadership of the party. Despite these infringments of elementary democratic rights and the grave injury they do the party, the conference affirmed its support of the NDP as the mass party of the Canadian working people and its intention to fight for freedom of ideas and caucuses within the party and for the party's victory over capital.

"The present capacity of the NDP leadership to expel its opponents," reads a document that the conference adopted, "is not so much a sign of its strength as it is a sign of the as yet relatively weak connections it has with the class, its independence of the class. As the labor party extends and deepens its influence in the class and we too deepen our connections, the bureaucracy will be much less able to settle accounts with its socialist opposition without gravely endangering its whole position. It is possibly a partial awareness of this — that tomorrow will bring an influx of new militant workers the situation will be much less favorable— that drives the NDP brass to such reckless extremes in its current drive against the left. For the left this should be a source of tremendous confidence in the correctness of its course, causing us to not give way on any front and to strengthen our connections . . ."

The reporter on the NDP document noted the extensive growth of the League since its foundation and its increasing influence across the country. A viewpoint which challenged the perspective of the NDP in the light of its continued rightward course and its failure to measure up in growth and influence to the promises of the founding convention was supported by only one delegate.

The conference hailed the Cuban revolution as the first socialist revolution on the North American continent which has advanced in an inspiring way to the establishment of a workers state. While recognizing that forms of workers democracy had not yet been institutionalized it noted the extreme sensitivity and responsiveness of the revolutionary leadership of Castro and Guevara to the masses and the considerable evidence that Cuba is moving in that direction.

One of the highlights of the conference was an extensive report of a congress held in Italy that has resulted in the unification of the major forces of the worldwide Trotskyist movement. This Reunification Congress of the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky, overcoming a split of some ten years duration, was reported on by Ross Dowson who attended it in a personal capacity.

As a left caucus in the New Democratic Party which is affiliated to the Second International, the League for Socialist Action, while recognizing Trotskyists as inveterate fighters for socialism and welcoming them into its ranks as loyal participants in the struggle for a socialist NDP, is not affiliated to the Fourth International. The conference heard the report with intense interest, discussed the major documents adopted by the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International, and expressed ideological solidarity with its socialist aims.

The Workers Vanguard #89 - Sept. 1963

Quebec, Maritimes Political Scene Scanned by Vanguard Trailblazers

by Cliff Orchard

After 16 weeks and two days on the road the four Trailblazers returned to Toronto. We had travelled Quebec and Eastern Canada in a trailer, talking socialism to workers and housewives, selling the **Workers Vanguard** and other socialist literature to unionists and NDPers. Our last month was spent in New Brunswick, a short while in Montreal, (where we had earlier stayed for two weeks), and in Ottawa and some of the towns of Eastern Ontario.

Our first view of New Brunswick politics was not a pleasant one. The N.B. Federation of Labor, at that time holding its annual convention in St. John, voted 51 to 44 in endorsation of Prime Minister Pearson's acquisition of nuclear weapons for Canada. Long corrupted by Liberalism and apparently also by no small amount of political patronage, these pork-choppers in the labor movement—the same who are responsible for this being one of Canada's lowest paid, highest cost of living provinces — last year voted against support of the New Democratic Party. Correspondingly, in St. John area, NDP vote is almost nil but continues due to the staying power of several old time CCFers. Only in Moncton, where several union locals have contested the Federation's position in action, has the NDP any strength.

Here some militant young people are working to build the NDY. At Mount Allison University, in nearby Sackville, a petition is underway to contest an administration ruling that outlaws political clubs on campus. There was strong feeling among the New Democratic Youth we met, as among adults throughout the Maritimes, that the party in Ottawa has not given adequate attention to the possibilities for development there.

Although the Communist Party once boasted considerable strength in the Maritimes, particularly in the coal mining centers, today we found it to be virtually no political factor. One CPer we met told us of a number of grievances that he had with the party, mainly centering on their non-revolutionary outlook. This was shown today, he explained, by their non-critical siding with Khrushchev in the Great Debate now raging between the USSR and China.

When we arrived in Montreal we found he was not the only one to have this complaint. We found, on the one hand, CP members and sympathizers who believed and promote the line that "the Chinese want war"; and on the other hand, demands from rank and filers that the party accurately present the Chinese position. They further wanted debate on the whole subject, not just bureaucratically made decisions at the top levels.

Far from being restricted to these circles however there was interest in the Debate throughout the left as well as among intellectual circles in the city.

Much confusion existed: for example some socialists were repelled by Khrushchev's providing missiles to India, yet accepted the theory of "peaceful co-existence" that gives rise to such actions.

We arrived at the new Parti Socialist du Quebec Montreal headquarters in the middle of their opening ceremonies. The provisional secretary proudly told us of rapid gains already made since the July Orientation Congress. They're recruiting members as fast as they can in an effort to build the party, cutting through all previous political alignments.

They showed us the first issue of their new French language paper **Le Peuple**, carrying the official banner "Journal Du Parti Socialist Du Quebec". Well-known Quebec unionist Michel Chartrand said a press run of 25,000 was not enough to fill the demand and they plan 50,000 of the second issue.

The lively looking eight page tabloid is boldly headlined on the front page "Socialisme d'ici" — our socialism. Another headline on the first page asks "Why a party independent of the NDP?" and goes on to answer "To prevent Quebecers from being suspicious of socialism".

Inside the reader is tempted by such headlines as "The PSQ-an irreversible step": "No Nuclear Arms: withdraw from Nato and Norad". It issues an appeal for membership, "Join the Party — a first step," and calls for a big turnout to the founding convention to be held this November. One thing that struck us was the atmosphere of intellectual freedom around the PSQ, as compared to the Ontario and BC NDP.

One of their biggest worries is the attitude of English trade unionists and NDPers — who have often demonstrated hostility to the PSQ. We found validity in their fears when we visited a Montreal Labor Council meeting and heard the rumor being circulated that membership in the PSQ automatically bars membership in the NDP.

The coming convention will be a crucial point in the history of the PSQ, and show whether and to what degree the English unionists and socialists will help it in its task of establishing a party that fights for the working people of Quebec.

We calculated on arrival in Toronto that a total of 844 new subscribers have been added to our list. We have been unable to tally the exact amount of pamphlets and books sold, but we do know that it totals well over $300.

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October 1, 1963.

Mr. George Burt,
Canadian Director U.A.W., (UAW)
1568 Ouellette Ave.,
Windsor, Ontario.

Dear George:

I am taking the liberty of answering to your letter of September 3rd sent to Mr. George Cadbury, President of the Ontario New Democratic Party.

The sequance of events were somewhat like this. Firstly, I received a telephone call from Mr. John Firth, President of Local 112, U.A.W. regarding the acceptance of Mr. Hugh Dowson an elected delegate from Local 112 to the Federal Convention of the New Democratic Party which was held last August in Regina. I wrote to Mr. Firth on June 26 as per copy of letter attached.

Terry Grier then as Federal Secretary, under whose jurisdiction a Federal Convention is held, wrote also to John Firth (copy attached). Our main reason for taking this action was based on our feeling that Hugh Dowson would not be accepted by the Credentials Committee of the Convention because of his association with and his support to another political party. Hugh Dowson made his application for membership to the New Democratic Party in November 1961 and he was refused membership. To our knowledge the reasons for the refusal of the then Provincial Secretary to accept his membership have not changed:

Technically, I am not too sure how your request "for a hearing in the above matter" would be met. The federal organization represented by Terry Grier as per letter makes the decision re acceptance of a delegate from an affiliated organization. The Provincial Office makes a decision re acceptance of an individual member.

However, we would be only too happy to discuss this matter further with you.

Kindest personal regards,

Fraternally yours,

Jim Burry,
Provincial Secretary.

c.c. T.M. Grier

JH

January 7th, 1964.

GB

cc

Mr. Frank Morton,
Local 112, U.A.W.,
891 Wilson Ave.,
Downsview, Ontario.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have for reply your recent letter concerning the question of the standing of Hugh Dowson and his relationship with the N.D.P. I can refer you to our correspondence on this matter. The first correspondence on this matter I have in my possession is a letter to Brother John Firth of June 26th, 1963 from Jim Bury, and the second letter was addressed to Brother Firth July 8th, 1963 from Brother Terry Grier. I wrote a letter to the President of the Ontario N.D.P. on September 3rd, 1963 and I received a reply to that letter on October 1st from Jim Bury. I am enclosing a copy of this letter, which is self-explanatory. I call your attention to the last line in which Brother Bury said he would be only too happy to discuss it further with me at Niagara Falls, but when I had a brief discussion with him at that time, I felt that the executive committee of the Party were not going to grant a hearing.

This is a matter for the provincial executive and in view of the fact that they have not seen fit to grant a hearing, I would suggest that you raise the matter at the next convention. If you wish me to do anything further in respect to it I would be glad to do so, but I have a feeling it will not accomplish very much. Incidentally I am not in agreement with the decision not to send any representative from Local 112 to the Metro Council until you are given two delegates. Lack of participation is not the proper way to deal with these matters. The proper way would be to send the one delegate and fight for more representation if you feel you are entitled to it.

Sincerely and fraternally,

George Burt, Can. Dir.,
Canadian Region U.A.W.

GB:so
oeiu:343
enc.
c.c. - Shultz

January 27, 1964.

Mr. Colin Cameron M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

I have been directed by the Executive of Local 112 U.A.W. to write to you regarding the regusal of membership in the N.D.P. of one of our Brothers in good standing, namely Hugh Dowson.

Brother Dowson was refused membership without any clear reason and we have tried in vain on several occasions to have a hearing set up so that this matter could be cleared up.

It would appear at this time, that all possible efforts to set up a hearing between the N.D.P. and Brother Dowson have been exhausted and the only possibility remains is asking you to use your office and influence to set this matter right, one way or another.

The membership of this Local is quite disturbed over the attitude taken by the N.D.P. both Provincially and Federally in this matter after knowing how active Brother Dowson has been on various committees of this Local Union, including the Political Action Committee.

Trusting to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I remain,

Yours sincerely and fraternally

Recording Secretary,
Local 112, U.A.W.

October 17, 1963

To the Toronto LSA,

Dear Comrades;

Comrade Nelson of the Toronto LSA has requested that he be granted a transfer in status from member of your branch to member at large. He would then as soo n as possible go to Montreal to collaborate with Comrade Brock in the work of building a Trotskyist group there

We are all aware of the tremendous possibilities that are opening up for our ideas in Quebec. Due to certain circumstances comrade Brock is in no position to plumb these possibilities to any great depth and it is necessary that we give him help. Comrade Nelson is of course one of the most devoted members of the Toronto LSA. His withdrawal from your activities will leave a serious gap. However the Toronto LSA is undergoing considerable growth and we anticipate that new comrades will push out to partially fill the gap. Naturally it is comrade Nelson's qualities as a serious revolutionary socialist that cuases us to recommend that you grant this transfer. He has had special experience in one of the areas which will be taken on in the Montreal area. Your loss will indeed be a most serious contribution to the building of an effective Canada-wide movement

Since there are several matters that would have to be cleared up we are unable at this time to suggest the date when this transfer would take place. Comrade Nelson would shortly be able to inform you.

fraternally

Kent

Help Wanted

Help Wanted

Help Wanted

CUBA

25 CANADIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO GO TO CUBA FOR SIX WEEKS THIS SUMMER. THEY WILL FORM A WORK CAMP TO HELP REPAIR HURRICANE FLORA DAMAGE. THEY WILL ALSO ACQUAINT THEMSELVES WITH DEVELOPMENTS THERE AND PROMOTE GOODWILL AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE CANADIAN AND CUBAN PEOPLES. ALL EXPENSES PAID FROM MONTREAL. BOATS WILL LEAVE MID-JUNE AND MID-JULY AND RETURN IN TIME FOR NEXT SCHOOL TERM.

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Vanguard

Vol. 8 (No. 6) (90) October, 1963 23 Toronto—Price 10 cents

NDP Election Defeat in BC Provokes Wide-Open Policy Debate in Ranks

By E. STRONG

The major defeat suffered by the New Democratic Party in the recent elections has shaken the movement to its foundations. It is conceded by everyone that the NDP was the only alternative to Social Credit, and, in a direct confrontation had the opportunity of forming the government.

The drop in popular vote to 28% from 33% — most of it in the strong NDP industrial ridings of Vancouver — and the decline by three to only thirteen seats in the legislature — is causing severe doubts within the top echelons of the movement. This situation, if taken advantage of by a firm drive by the left wing can make the coming provincial convention in New Westminster on Nov. 16th and 17th the most vital ever.

One of the most important developments in preparation for the convention has been the call by the BC NDP Socialist Caucus for an all-day conference of socialists in Vancouver at Hillcrest Hall on October 27. The August issue of the **Vanguard** reproduced the programmatic statement of this caucus. The appeal to party members has gone out over the names of some of BC's most prominent socialists — Dorothy Steeves, Dave Stupich, Cedric Cox, Hugh Clifford, Ruth Bullock, Mrs. S. H. Sigurgierison, Phil Courneyeur, John Macey and others.

The conference is called to discuss and analyze the recent election results and to elect a slate for the provincial executive to contest the leadership of the party. It will in essence be a pre-convention of the left wing forces in the province.

To date there has been very little effort made by the party bureaucracy to explain the election debacle. Indeed there have been attempts to postpone the annual convention for six months so that there will be no discussion whatsoever.

The rather lame statements on election night by both Strachan and Vulliamy that "there was too much talk about minority government", "the people are apparently not ready for us," and "the people appear satisfied with the government they had and the promises for the future", explain nothing.

If such gimmicks as those thought up by the big business interests of the province to defeat the labor movement electorally are the reason for the defeat, then it can be logically assumed that the NDP will never form the government because the bosses will never run short of gimmicks.

There will always be "promises" to keep up the charade.

And it isn't as though the NDP itself made no "promises."

As Hugh Clifford, the NDP candidate for the North Shore said, to the Vancouver LSA Forum shortly after the election, the "promises were doled out like — goodies" — as so much election bait. All that was worthwhile in the NDP program was rendered down into meaningless mediocrity.

Everything was on the level of minor reforms and they were demands that were stolen and modified by the other parties. This was true of the party's declared position on Medicare, on pensions, on auto insurance. The program for developing jobs in the province smacked of pure charlatanism: "a development corporation" to stimulate secondary industry. This was to be the "planning" of the province's economy but it was never explained on what basis new industry would be developed, either through public ownership or by private enterprise. but it did seem to indicate that the people of the province would end up subsidizing a few capitalists.

There was no attempt made to show that the party is by its very nature fundamentally different from the other parties in that it is a workers' party above all else, and that it is the working class who have the power and the strength if they are united, to smash down this system of unemployment and rebuild a new world. In fact there was a studied attempt by the brass to keep any union spokesmen out of the public eye.

The whole election campaign was the leadership's baby, in every way. They had a complete monopoly in handling everything. Money was spent lavishly. For the first time in many years constituencies mailed their campaign literature. Full page advertisements in the two big dailies here, the **Vancouver Sun** and **Province** appeared on a number of consecutive days. And yet they led the working class of this province to one of its worst defeats since Bills 42 and 43 were passed.

But it would be wrong to see the defeat as being the result of a mishandled election campaign which lasted only four weeks. The defeat has been in the making for some time — in the leadership's whole liberal-reformist course and its hounding of its

(See Page 4 DEBATE)

DEBATE BC ELECTION DEFEAT

(Continued From Page One)

opponents out of the movement.

Almost immediately after the last convention, to the amazement of the membership, eleven socialist youth were expelled from the youth movement and the action was sustained by the provincial executive. As late as last July 11th, the eleven young socialists were in the process of being expelled from the senior movement. This action alone is largely responsible for the defeat of NDP MLA's Mather and Rhodes in Delta, where a number of activists expressed their discontent by boycotting the campaign. This alienation from the party must have occurred in other areas.

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

in Vancouver
875 East Hastings.

in Toronto
81 Queen St. W.

Then there was the Allied Engineering strike last year. When a number of militants were arrested for supporting a strike, Strachan saw fit, before the Duncan Chamber of Commerce, to lambaste the labor movement and single out for special criticism the prominent union militants—Jerry LeBourdais and Orville Braaten.

On top of that came the leadership's public censure of MLA Cedric Cox, the popular chairman of the Vancouver FPFCC, because of his trip to Cuba. This campaign did not end last winter when Cox came home from Cuba but continued right up to the eve of the election when a sustained campaign was undertaken by the right wing to manipulate Cox out of the nomination and give it to one of their chambermaids, the chief youth prosecutor, Stuart Leggatt. And the anti-Cox campaign didn't end there — it went right up to the ballot box.

The "image" of utter respectability, so carefully nurtured in the past year, burst into full bloom after the election was called and would have done credit to the professionals from Madison Avenue. We were asked to cast a vote for "integrity" — Strachan gave the impression that he had a monopoly on that substance — and "good government." The main campaign slogan was "This is the time for Honesty — For Democracy." There was an all-out campaign to capture the middle class vote.

Now a certain falling out is taking place within the brass itself. In what could only be construed as an attempt to lay the basis for a campaign for the leadership, Alex McDonald, one of the provincial leaders who was slated for the position of attorney general, made some biting criticisms of the election program and strategy at the provincial council meeting of Oct. 19. In an apparent bid for left support, he complained that there was "no meat in the program", and that the party "erred" in not appealing to the workers. He said that the program had been tailored to attract the middle

Last Call for Action Against U.S. A-Bomb on Canada Soil

There are less than 30-29-28-2? days to go. The Bomarcs at La Macaza, Quebec and North Bay, Ontario will be nuclear equipped, according to an interview that the commander of the Northern NORAD region had with United Press International on September 27, **within 60 days of that date.** The nuclear armament of the CF101 Voodoo jet interceptor squadrons based in Chatham, N.B., Bagotville, Que., Ottawa, North Bay and Comox B.C. will take a little longer, Air Vice Marshall Harvey said — "several months longer."

Now, as sort of an afterthought, Prime Minister Lester Pearson has told the house that the August 16th agreement his minority government signed with the US State Department permitting the nuclear armament of the Bomarcs also permitted the Pentagon to nuclear arm the US Air Force interceptors based in Newfoundland — on Canadian soil.

One of the big arguments used to overcome the popular opposition to Canada becoming nuclear armed at a time when there is widespread talk about the test ban agreement heralding a big stride in the direction of world disarmament, was that while the nuclear tips will be under US control, the Bomarc missiles which are necessary to deliver them, will be under Canadian control. This is the famous two key control theory.

This theory served the purpose of meeting a viewpoint that is popularly held right across the country that the rulers of the US are the greatest danger to world peace. At the same time it built up the illusion that "our own" rulers were substantially different and could be counted upon to cancel out any hasty and ill-considered actions that, without very

(See Page 3 PROTEST)

PROTEST A-BOMB COMING HERE

(Continued from Page one)

good and very substantial cause, would blow us all to hell in a nuclear holocaust. Now, having served its purpose this ruse has been exposed by the agreement over Newfoundland. With it the State Department will have its own nuclear forces under its own control right on Canadian soil.

What else is in the August 16th agreement? What other deals is the government committed to, impugning on the fate, not only of the Canadian people but of all mankind — made without their having any knowledge or any say of any kind?

Pointing up the correctness of the demand that the **Vanguard** has campaigned for since its inception —that there should be a popular referendum on the question of acceptance of nuclear arms — the government, in spite of the protest of NDP leader T. C. Douglas, has arrogantly refused to put the agreement before parliament.

Mr. Pearson used the excuse that the August 16 agreement "is an executive agreement, an exchange of notes between governments," and stated that all "the customary and appropriate constitutional procedures have been followed." When he revealed the Newfoundland deal and Mr. Douglas questioned that there would be joint control, Mr. Pearson arrogantly replied that the members would have to take "my word."

But the trump card to justify their secret diplomacy which has now unmistakably made Canada a military satellite of the US **State Department** was played by the Secretary of State for External Affairs — NATO! He played on the fact that not only the Liberal, Progressive Conservative, Social Credit and Ralliement support Canadian membership in this aggressive military alliance of the capitalist powers but the fact that the NDP leadership, despite the widespread opposition in the party's ranks have also committed themselves to Canada's continued participation in NATO. He appealed to, he questioned their adherence, their loyalty to the Western alliance by challenging that "an exchange of notes of this nature should be made public at this juncture was not in the interests of the security of this nation or the security of the NATO alliance."

We are now approaching a turning point in the anti-nuclear arms struggle which has involved more persons on an active participation basis than any other social question in decades. Tens of thousands, young and old, have rallied in demonstrations, mass meetings, petitions, against nuclear arms.

Is this agreement, signed behind the backs of the Canadian people and which will result in the planking of nuclear arms here under the control of the trigger men of the Pentagon and a Canadian political - military complex which has proven to be nothing but their abject lackies, going to take place without so much as a protest? Are the nuclear warheads going to come wheeling over the border without so much as a protest?

There is no question that the whole anti-nuclear arms movement has been undergoing a grave crisis over the past year. It cannot come out of this crisis without adopting a clear and unequivocal position against the NATO alliance. The coming CUCND and CCND conferences must seriously analyze how this mighty and promising movement was diverted by the Liberals, the Tories, by Canadian Peace Research Institute, and take a new orientation.

But to gear the movement to come to grips with these problems it is essential that all the forces possible be organized **now** — to protest and to demonstrate against nuclear arms on Canadian soil.

#90-October 1963

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Parti Socialiste du Quebec Defines

SOCIALISM AND SEPARATISM

Montreal — At two meetings, one on October 17 and the other on October 8, prominent spokesmen of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec defined the policy of the newly formed party on nationalism and socialism.

"The PSQ refuses to let itself be carried away by the idea that an independent Quebec state is sufficient to solve all the problems of the working class," said Alfred Dubuc, a professor on the faculty of social sciences of the University of Montreal. "Our first aim will always remain the achievement of a socialist society. We make a world-wide analysis of the exploitation of the working class and our politics have as their aim the utilization of all available resources and energies for the complete liberation of Quebec." Referring to the several nationalist movements in Quebec he said; "some of them are rightist movements carrying the line of the national bourgeoisie which has contributed throughout the entire history of French Canada to the exploitation of the working class."

According to Jean-Claude Lebel, vice-president of the PSQ, the question of separatism is not the primary question. "Our politics propose economic, social and humane ends. Should Ottawa refuse us the necessary latitude to achieve our ends, then, we will become separatist," he said.

It is necessary to fuse socialist and nationalist concepts with a coefficient of radicalism, emphasized PSQ leader Pierre Vadboncoeur. He noted that the strongest political reflex in French Canada is nationalism. The solution of the economic problem of the French Canadians is posed on the national and socialist plane, he said — two levels which are in reality one.

The first task confronting the PSQ, according to Andre L'Heureux, secretary of its provisional committee, is to define its type of socialism. "Our socialism will be scientific. We should draw on the experiences of the world socialist movement to formulate a socialism adapted to the needs of Quebec." Political freedom, he said, is inseparable from economic liberation, without which nationalism is contradictory and addresses itself to a minority of the privileged.

"I see in a great number of the neonationalists who call for the political independence of Quebec he added, "this same bourgeois spirit and the same refusal to attack the real masters of our political and economic institutions—Anglo-American capitalism — which characterized the spokesmen of our traditional nationalism —this petit bourgeoisie composed mainly of lawyers, doctors and upper clergy."

"There is no contradiction between international socialism and the right of a people to national autonomy. We are going to evolve towards the building of a French Canadian socialist republic. Constituting a nation, French Canada has the right to build here a state that is free, autonomous and socialist," said Jean Marie Bedard, IWA and PSQ leader.

The Workers Vanguard #90-Oct. 1963

APPEAL FROM PERU

The heroic 29 year old leader of the peasant movement in Convencion Valley, Peru, lives. When news of his arrest by military-police forces attempting to crush the agrarian reform movement which he led came through last June there was grave fear that he would never appear before the courts. An international campaign was launched demanding his immediate release. We reproduce a letter that he has written from his cell in the Mariscal Gamarra barracks at Arequipa. Unfortunately at this time we are unable to supply an address to which aid can be sent.

To The People of Peru:

This trial is not against me personally but against the Peruvian revolution. The reaction claims that it will place the guilty ones in the dock. We will not admit this. In the dock must be placed the oligarchy.

It is precisely because the judgment will not be levelled against me personally, that the Peruvian people and not the camarilla of officers and spokesmen in the service of the monsters must be the judge. And before this judge we must make our exposure of the betrayals of our country, the murders, robberies, thefts and violations committed by the entire oligarchy, especially the landlords in all corners of the country.

This is the most favorable time to do this. The Peruvian people are following the trial, ready to listen and to judge. Whatever we are able to do in this sense will be insufficient. The unions, the federations of peasants, of workers, students, employees, etc., must join to the utmost in this task.

It is my fate to be the one to sit in the prisoner's dock. It will be converted into a tribune of the revolution to accuse the accusers. That is why I must have a record of the crimes of the landlords and of the whole oligarchy to throw it into the faces of the accusers who symbolize the reaction. I ask the comrades to send me this record.

Unfortunately the trial room is not large enough to hold ten million people — which means that the real judges will not be able to be present. They are in the streets of the cities and towns, in the fields. . . . If we want our accusation to reach them, now that history has given us the possibility, it is necessary to prepare millions of leaflets, of pamphlets, perhaps a book. Unfortunately money is required for this and I do not have any. I have never asked for financial assistance, but now I do it, not for myself but for the denunciation, for the accusation.

Land or death! We will win!

Hugo Blanco.

The Workers Vanguard

#90 Oct. 1963

Toronto Banquet Opens Cox's International Tour

Premier Fidel Castro's views on the nuclear test ban agreement were first heard in Canada at the annual banquet held by the Toronto chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. They came at the climax of an address by Cuba's Ambassador to Canada, Americo Cruz, to almost 250 guests who had gathered to launch an international speaking tour by the former NDP member of the BC legislature Cedric Cox whose tour of Cuba this year stimulated such controversy across the country.

After expressing fraternal greetings to some visitors from the States in the audience, several of the members of the militant Negro group, UHURU, and pointing to the Cuban revolution as proof of the possibility to go about building socialism in the heart of imperialism, the ambassador explained that Cuba is not going to sign this treaty. This doesn't mean we are against peace, he said. But we are not going to accept any peace imposed by the United States. There has been a lot of talk about our not being friendly with the USSR because we have not signed the test ban. We are friends with all socialist countries but we have an independent policy.

With the official text of Castro's statement in his hand Dr. Cruz read: "We are glad that tensions have diminished elsewhere but we cannot consider ourselves at peace with imperialism which increases its efforts to strangle us . . . As an attacked country against which a non-declared war is being waged and pirate attacks launched, you cannot expect us to smile angelically at our imperialist enemies . . . Our position is determined first of all by our anti-imperialism, consequently our line is anti-imperialist — particularly Yankee imperialism."

Chairman Vernel Olson introduced NDP federal candidate David Middleton, whose collection speech designed to put a financial base under the Cox tour netted over $450, then turned the banquet over to Cox himself.

Cox, fresh from the BC election battle which registered a serious setback for the NDP, losing him his seat by a narrow margin of some 200 votes, got tremendous applause as he took the podium. The spirit of his audience was highest when he stressed the Latin American and international significance of the Cuban revolution. His statement that "one of these days we are going to have to do the same things as the Cubans in Canada," won a burst of applause from the youthful audience. Cox expressed great enthusiasm about his tour which, following several meetings in southern Ontario takes him to Montreal, to several northern US cities, back up through the West, culminating in a celebration banquet sponsored by the Vancouver FPFCC. The very successful meeting he addressed at Toronto's York University was the first political meeting on that campus. In Montreal Cox addressed two meetings — a campus meeting sponsored by the McGill NDP youth and a public meeting sponsored by the New Left Association (NDP Club).

November 5, 1963

Dear Hannah; (New York?)

The books have arrived. Both of them are very beautiful, but particul- the book on Rivera. It is unfortunate that they did not go to the trouble on providing new plates---the bulk of them were already used in the previous volume entitled just Diego Rivera. But despite that the book itself even from my first hastyglance is a real addition to my Rivera books--a necessary one for I remain unchanged in my opinion of him as the most significant artist of our time. You know I had to have that volume.

Did you have anything to do with the designing of this book? It is really excellent--even the dust wrapper. My impression is that the competition of quality paperbacks has brought better work to the cloth bound books these days

Glad to hear that you are leading a full busy life. Dont have much touble that way myself what with the pressure of local matters and now since my trips to Europe the demands of the international movement. We are puting out an excellent English language weekly news -service from Paris and they are constantly pressing me for contributions. But off hand they have worried me much more successfully than they have got results I am afraid.

Glad to hear that you have kept in touch with Peter and Charlotte. Peter is doing some rather interesting printing. We picket up an old hand press a while back and now we have loaned it to Peter. He has done several excellent tickets for us and I understand that he has just finished puting out a folio of Joe R's poems. You know of course that Joe has been getting published with increasing frequence. I short while back Milton Acorn wrote a poem which is full of praise of Joe as a natural poet. Milton is considered by many to be one of Canada's best younger poets. So you see we will have tomake allowances for Joe as man has to make allowances for Wagner and for Rivera's and Mayakovsky's for we may have in him such a person.

I am enclosing a couple of pamphlets that we had a hand in designing and the contenst of which I think you will find interesting. These of course are collective efforts as are the two covers that we are runnig of on our own little mimeograpg machine. We have gone electric and with the aid of special photographic stencils are able to move into offset standards as the Trotsky cover shows.

Looking forward to seeing you on your return to the old stamping grounds.

affectionately

Ross

WORKERS Vanguard

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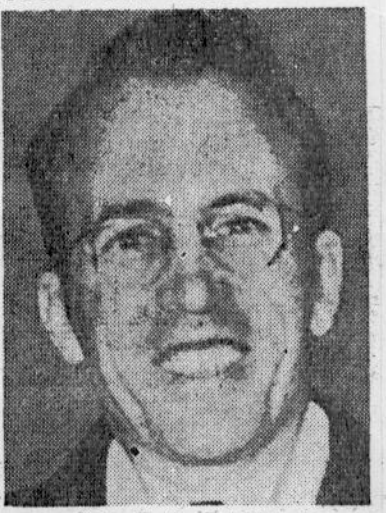

Says T. C. Douglas to
BC Convention Delegates

West Coast NDP Moves to Left Saddled with Leaders of Defeat

By R. Blake

The third annual BC NDP convention, held in Burnaby's beautiful new Villa Motor Hotel, opened with an unaccustomed air of expectancy, along with the usual polite speeches of greetings from civic and party functionaries. The anticipation rose from two sources. (1) The appearance on the seene, for the first time in BC, of a sizable caucus of socialists grouped around a printed statement of aims — (see **Workers Vanguard**, September, 1963). This caucus operated openly with a literature booth in the lobby, (which the right wing tried unsuccessfully to close), a meeting room, and with many delegates and members wearing red lapel ribbons to indicate support. (2) The highly disastrous election campaign where election day Sept. 30, 1963, found the group in the legislature reduced from 16 to a possible 14, with a drop of five percent in the popular vote of the party.

The election defeat led to criticism within the membership, and nowhere was it so bitter as among the right wing opportunists themselves, a sizeable portion of whom, looking for a scapegoat, set out after the scalp of provincial leader, Bob Strachan. However, well before convention time it was obvious Strachan's leadership would be accepted unchallenged by both right and left groupings. Other than lawyer, Alex MacDonald, MLA Vancouver East, the right had no one to offer. The Socialist Caucus grouping was too newly formed to advance a candidate and it is unlikely this grouping would have supported lawyer MacDonald even had he chosen to run in opposition to former carpenter Strachan.

Strachan opened the real work of the convention with a blistering and demogogic attack on the socialists in the party, and particularly those in the Socialist Caucus. He coupled this with the assertion "we are all socialists" — a statement not endorsed by some other right wingers. However Saturday evening when the adoption of a mild statement of socialist principles was before the convention Strachan made the leading attack on it. Nevertheless it was endorsed on a vote of about five to one. On Sunday afternoon one word in Point 4 of this five Point statement of socialist principles was raised for reconsideration. It

(See Page 4—BC NDP)

BC NDP Socialist Caucus

(From Page One)

was proposed to change the phrase "socialist ownership AND administration" to "socialist ownership OR administration". A fairly obvious piece of political trickery but the delegates were too weary and confused by that time to be prepared to struggle with a bureaucratic chair and fight the move.

Also in line with this kind of trickery was the disposal of the scandal of the youth expulsions in BC which was swept under the rug through the use of an organizational gimmick. This indicates the right wing's nervousness about discussing this question with the membership. It also leaves the executive free to continue to act in an arbitrary manner.

With unanimity, the BC convention delegates urged withdrawal from NATO. While the resolution expressed illusions about the United Nations — it counterposed fuller participation in it to "military participation in NATO"—it is in opposition to the pro-NATO policy of the federal movement. In line with this decision the convention reaffirmed the BC position of past conventions against nuclear weapons on Canadian soil.

A resolution opposing participation in the Organization of American States was passed and also one for trade and aid to Cuba which condemned the U.S. boycott of Cuba.

While condemning trusteeships in general the convention by majority vote found government trusteeship of the Maritime Unions justified, thus adopting the official CLC stand.

For some time the BC leadership has been under criticism for not identifying the movement with strike struggles, anti-war demonstrations, etc. The third annual convention endorsed this as correct policy, thus making official a separation of the leadership from the activities of party ranks and party supporters.

Voting delegates at this year's convention numbered from 260 to 300. Of these the Socialist Caucus had the consistent support of about a third — 85 to 95 votes.

WORKERS Vanguard

Let The Truth be Heard on the Assassinations!

BY THE EDITORS

To the horror of the murder of the man holding the highest office of the most powerful nation in the world — the president of the United States — has been added the assassination of the man who had been charged by the Dallas police as the murderer.

All who, as ourselves, fervently believe that political differences within society should be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard, are saddened and angered over the death of J. F. Kennedy, and the death at the hands of an assassin of L. H. Oswald too.

President Kennedy died from an act committed by a person or persons whose identity is not now known. Lee Oswald is innocent

(See Page 3 LET THE TRUTH)

COMMITTEE ANSWERS SLANDERS

Fair Play for Cuba Statement

Vernel Olson, chairman of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee, has issued the following statement. It was released to the press prior to the murder of Lee Oswald, charged by the Dallas police with the murder of the president.

"The members, friends and supporters of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee are shocked like everyone else around the world by the assassination of the President of the United States J. F. Kennedy, and we extend our condolences to his family.

"The daily press and particularly the most irresponsible and sensationalist sections of it, through reports of previous association with the American Fair Play for Cuba Committee of the person presently charged with the assassination, are attempting to create a lynch atmosphere against the Committee.

"Attempts are being made to link the committee to the assassination, suggesting that in some way its activities lead to such monstrous actions. We would bring attention to the fact that the person charged with this act is innocent until proved guilty and we warn that circumstances surrounding the case, and the campaign arising from it, are highly suspicious and cause us to be on guard to see that justice is done. We declare that there is no truth whatsoever in the campaign of innuendo and abuse that has been launched against the committee either in the U.S. or Canada.

"The committee has of course expressed serious disagreement with the late president of the United States. These disagreements however, like those expressed by many others in the U.S., here, and elsewhere, had nothing to do with the person of J. F. Kennedy or his family. They had to do with the policies of the administration which he headed, specifically in so far as they interfered with legitimate rights and aspirations of the Cuban people and of course the interests of the people of Canada.

"As anyone with even the most superficial acquaintance with the work of the committee knows, the aims of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee are educational and political and are expressed through channels properly belonging to such aims. We hold public meetings, many of which have been addressed by eminent Canadians. We publish, along with other material, speeches by Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro which are relatively unknown to North Americans and are often monstrously distorted. Our most recent activity has been the raising of funds to help the Cuban people overcome the losses that they suffered in the recent hurricane disaster. All our work has been open and above board and there is nothing that we welcome so much as an interest on the part of any and all Canadians in it. The aim of our committee is what it says it is — Fair Play for Cuba. We will continue our work with the support of all those who have shown an interest in it and we are confident of the good will and sympathy of a widening layer of Canadians."

Shake-out in Top Leadership as —

Anti-Bomb Group Debates Policy

By R. Brock

Montreal — Oct. 27 — The special general meeting of the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, held in Montreal this weekend witnessed a sharp, far-ranging and fundamental debate which resulted in the adoption of a new program reflecting a changed conception of the anti-nuclear arms movement in this country. The conference resulted in a shakeup in the top leadership, with the more radical forces capturing a clear majority of the positions on the national directorate, and the symbolic resignation of Justice Thorson, chief of the Exchequer Court and long a leading representative of the philosophy of trying to win over the warfare-state committed Liberals and Tories by gentle, friendly persuasion, inside "connections", and bootlicking "respectability".

The conference itself took place against a background of mounting frustration in the ranks of the CCND. Having based its entire program on the single policy of "no nuclear arms for Canada", and stubbornly maintaining a "non-partisan", no-politics approach even in the recent election campaign which saw the NDP as the only party unequivocally opposed to the nuclear armament of Canadian forces, the peace movement has now been badly demoralized by the cynical maneuvers of the Pearson government, supported by the Diefenbaker Tories, in its acceptance of nuclear warheads for the military hardware acquired during the past five years. It has become increasingly clear to even the most muddle-headed pacifist that this armament takes place within the overall context of the cold-war strategy pursued by the U.S. State Department and its buddies in the External Affairs and Defence Departments in Ottawa. In the words of the CCND Policy Committee's draft program: "The new Canadian commitment to nuclear weapons is but a part of a much more basic commitment to 'peace' through military strength. Military strength has today come to mean nuclear weapons and a series of military alliances."

And hence, the draft proposed that the CCND demand that Canada "withdraw from all regional military alliances" — alliances which "commit us to the nuclear arms race and the Cold War". It was the alliance controversy which dominated the whole policy discussion.

Delegates spoke of the need to enlarge the perspective of the movement, to take a position on international matters, such as the bloody war being waged by the U.S. in South Vietnam against a popular peasant liberation movement. The need to form a consistent overall strategy envisaging a reorientation in the entire Canadian foreign and defence policy was frequently expressed. As delegate Stan Grey of McGill University pointed out, "We must challenge the whole structure of the cold war system", and "go beyond the confines of limited, day-to-day political goals. We must present to the Canadian people a radically different alternative solution." National organizer Dimitri Rousoppolos cut across the phoney argument of the conservative elements who uttered Cassandra-like warnings about decline in numbers and influence if the meeting adopted a more fundamental program, when he told of how the British CND adopted a unilateralist position, then found itself growing in numbers and popularity.

The arguments of the conservative top leadership revealed the utter bankruptcy of their own position. Incredibly enough, national secretary K. C. Woodsworth took up the fatuous legal argument of Thorson that Canada was "not really a nuclear power" because, as External Affairs Minister Martin had stated October 3rd, the U.S. retains custody and control of the warheads (!), and declared that he thought the MP's might still reverse the government's decision.

However, despite the majority support for the more radical position, many of the delegates appeared to fear a split in the organization, and eventually a compromise policy was adopted. Considerably watered down, the new statement as endorsed by the conference by a vote of 41 to 4 (even the conservative Toronto chapter voting for it) stated that the CCND "is opposed in principle to, and will devote itself to an educational campaign against, the system of military alliances, as being wrong and obsolete, and as having to be superseded by general and complete disarmament, a competent world authority, and a levelling up of the developing nations".

This rather vague statement, of course, leaves the leadership free to interpret as they wish the meaning of "opposition to the system of military alliances". And there is a real danger that, although Thorson resigned immediately, the basic division in the top echelons of CCND, which has paralyzed the leadership during the past year, has not been resolved, but simply papered over. But the vote to fill vacancies on the national directorate saw the election of a radical slate, all with views opposed to NATO. These included Colin Cameron, well-known New Democratic Party MP.

Despite the increased political awareness and militancy of the delegates to this conference, it was obvious that many of them harbour illusions with regard to the United Nations, and particularly on the question of a "UN Police Force". Many failed to see the contradiction between opposition to American imperialism, and yet support of the same imperialist-controlled organization which was responsible for the death of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo — a country in the hands of a UN Police Force. There was also a general tendency to overrate the significance of the test-ban treaty, although delegate John Lee from Toronto eloquently demonstrated how the subsequent nuclear arming of Canada exposed the pact as "a mere piece of paper".

In the Sunday sessions, delegates discussed plans for action in the immediate future, in opposition to the imposition of the nuclear warheads. Here again, the demoralization of the movement was evident. Suggestions of a special action subcommittee were adopted by the delegates, including the submission of a brief to the Commons Defence Committee, and yet another lobby of MP's. At the same time, however, on the urging of some delegates, it was also decided to launch a door-to-door distribution of a pamphlet setting forth the views of the CCND on the nuclear question, and a program of demonstrations at the weapons sites was proposed for the consideration of local branches.

One of the most important contributions at the conference was the speech of Jacques Larue-Langlois, the youthful chairman of the Mouvement pour le Desarmement et la Paix, the largest peace group in Quebec. He pointed out that in the French-Canadian peace movement, alliances such as NATO are not an issue — no one even thinks of supporting them. The Quebec tradition of anti-militarism, he said, places their movement far ahead of that in English Canada, both in relative numbers and influence.

With the NDP Across Country

The Galt convention of the Ontario New Democratic Youth, by a vote of two to one, failed to send fraternal greetings to the Parti Socialiste du Quebec. The Toronto Don Valley resolution was tabled "until such a time that their policies become more apparent."

The conformist character of the majority of the delegates, many of them representing no real forces, was revealed at the opening session. According to the constitution the expulsions which decapitated the Toronto movement and have been used to sustain a continuing witch-hunt were due to get a hearing. The fact that the expulsions had been handled by the adult movement (the appeals on this level have been pending over seven months now) was used to not only reject the appeals but to bar the expelled from even sitting in on the convention with the public as observers.

Lines were drawn on all questions, including the Toronto High Park motion that the adult movement run candidates on the municipal level, by a vote of approximately 75 to 20.

* * *

The annual Vancouver Island NDP conference was held in Nanaimo in the wake of the rude BC election defeat. NDP leaders were noticeably absent except for party leader Bob Strachan who sat in with the 100-odd constituency delegates as "an NDP member from Cowichan-Newcastle." Dave Stupich, newly elected MLA for Nanaimo, chaired the rally.

Representatives from every riding on the island reported a general decline in support from the working class polls and a rise in support from middle class voters. This was in keeping with the provincial trend and delegate after delegate blamed "the lack of working class content" and "the absence of a more socialist program," for the losses.

Mildred McLeod from Cowichan-Newcastle called for a return to a program "stressing our basic moral principles," and for an end to the internecine warfare that has ridden the party with trials and expulsions, and for an end to the "anti-communist pitch" which was so evident in Strachan's campaign.

Most delegates cut right to the heart of the matter, criticized the middle class liberal program and appeal of the election policy, and called for a program more oriented to the needs and problems of workers. Bud Handley of Alberni roundly condemned the parliamentary leadership's upholding of trusteeship which he said cost us support. Charlie Hadrell of Nanaimo came armed with slides of literature and ads of the last campaign to show the similarity of our appeal and Socred's, demonstrating that we had little to offer the worker other than Medicare and "good government" — both of which were promised by all parties.

In response to the morning's criticisms Bob Strachan said he had no apologies to offer for the program and campaign strategy. "The trouble is not that we have changed," he said, "but that the others have. They have stolen our program almost entirely."

The afternoon session saw fraternal delegates from the mainland join in. Phil Courneyeur from Burnaby called for an end of the witch-hunt in the party. He pointed to the sad fact that an NDP-CCF stronghold like Burnaby was lost to the Socreds because of bitterness and disunity fed into the ranks by the leadership's attack on Cedric Cox. John Macey and Hugh Clifford brought greetings from the BC Socialist Caucus which is presenting an alternative socialist program to the coming convention.

The afternoon session on Medicare, highlighted by Joe Corsbie's contribution, as well as the whole day's deliberations, revealed that there is a growing awareness in the ranks that there is something very wrong with our basic approach to program. The watering down, the soft-sell and the outright abandonment of time-honored socialist stands such as public ownership of utilities, it is increasingly obvious, have gone against the grain of an awakening rank and file.

* * *

The Alberta New Democratic Youth convention passed along with other resolutions one urging that economic sanctions be applied against South Africa and that there be free trade with Cuba and another calling for Canada's complete withdrawal from NATO.

* * *

At the Vancouver East constituency meeting of October 22 the program of the NDP in the recent BC election campaign came in for much criticism. This was in reaction to the explanations given by Fred Vulliamy, UBC Professor John Norris, and BC Federation of Labor official Clive Lyttle. They gave the impression that the question of program was not even worth considering as a factor in the defeat. All that had to be done was to build a bigger and better machine and work harder, they said.

The meeting passed a resolution urging the coming annual provincial convention to "recommend to the federal New Democratic Party, Canadian withdrawal from the NATO and NORAD military alliances."

A resolution urging "that the eleven expelled youth be reinstated," was defeated by one vote after much discussion. The youth referred to were leading socialists in the NDY expelled for association with the League for Socialist Action.

As an attempt to alleviate the effects of Hurricane Flora's devastation the constituency appealed to the coming gathering to raise "a collection for the Hurricane victims of Cuba." The meeting also called upon the NDP to "demand the removal of the Comox nuclear dump."

The North Vancouver constituency association passed a resolution that the convention declare the expulsions of eleven youth "void" and that the trial commenced against them "in the senior division NDP, BC be abandoned."

* * *

The Winnipeg NDP presented a slate of ten candidates in the municipal elections last month. Five ran for city council and five for school board. Eight of the ten were active trade unionists.

In presenting the slate Don Swailes, a vice president of the CLC and himself a candidate for city council, wrote; "In Winnipeg we do not subscribe to the ideas of Big Business that there should be no political divisions in municipal government. The municipal governments are just as much political establishments as provincial and federal governments, with very similar lines of division with respect to policies, and with a pronounced determination on the part of business interests to retain control over municipal councils."

Five of the ten-man slate were elected although only 22% of the registered voters cast ballots.

WORKERS Vanguard #91-Nov. 1963

What Are They Afraid Of?

The following article appeared in the October 1963 issue of THE AIRCRAFTER, official publication of Local 112 UAW — De-Havilland, Toronto.

by BILL POWELL

I started my vacation with a bitter taste in my mouth and an angry chip on my shoulder. The reason for all this was the rejection of one of our brothers by the NDP as our representative to the 2nd New Democratic Party federal convention at Regina on August 6th, on the grounds of belonging to another political party. This brother belongs to no other party. He was expelled from the old CCF for his "leftist" views, and on the same precarious grounds, refused membership in the New Democratic Party.*

Despite my admiration for this brother's personal integrity, I am not writing this solely on his behalf, but his case was the last straw to break the camel's back in my devotion to the NDP as a party affiliated to the labor movement.

I was raised in an honest-to-God working community in the Welsh mining valleys where socialism was far from being a scare word. What in hell is wrong with having a left wing in the NDP? What is the center and right wing afraid of? Surely the expellers do not visualize a party where everyone agrees with everyone. Such ideal conditions exist only in a grave-yard, and there sure as heck is no action there. If the ideas of the so-called leftists are so nutty, surely their influence on the right and center will be nil. On the other hand, if they have something worthwhile to offer, the left of today will become the center of tomorrow. That's how life moves.

From conversations with party members, I feel the center has more reason to keep a weather eye to the right, rather than to the left. On the left there is a few with radical views, but to the right there seems to be a sprinkling of people who are anti everything humanitarian for which the NDP stands. The NDP is the hope of the future. It should be doubly hesitant to exclude leftists of Canada for their radical views.

The need for recognition and understanding of Canada's problems is extremely urgent. The extreme right has demonstrated that it has no understanding of what must be done to improve life for Canadians, or to prevent the country from slipping into a condition of stagnation and servility.

I would suggest our local demand that brothers whose opinions may somewhat differ from party politics, be given the chance to have their ideas examined along with accepted policies to determine if they have something valuable to offer.

As Benjamin Franklin put it "The doors of wisdom are never shut."

* * * *

* The brother referred to is Hugh Dowson elected at a general membership meeting to represent Local 112 at the Regina NDP convention. Dowson played a prominent role in getting the local to affiliate to the CCF and then the NDP. Dowson is accused of being a member of the League for Socialist Action.

The Ontario leadership of the NDP, abrogating the authority of the convention itself, informed the local that Dowson would not be seated. After considerable debate as to whether Dowson should go to Regina and fight for admission there, the local finally decided to send another delegate. Canadian UAW director George Burt has challenged the right of the NDP national leadership to refuse to seat a local's elected delegate without laying formal charges before the union itself.

#92-Dec. 1963

WORKERS Vanguard

Cost of Living Reaches New Peak
Speculators Plunder Record Profits

By P. Kent

WORKERS Vanguard #92 Dec. 1963

Vital New Paper For Canadian Youth

The YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM, until recently known mainly in BC as a mimeographed monthly, early this month came out for the first time in printed form. Now, reflecting its new Canada-wide character in its sharper printed form it sports articles, columns, and notes, not only from Vancouver, but also from Montreal, Toronto and Regina.

This constitutes a real stride forward for the paper which lost its official New Democratic Youth endorsation a year ago in the atmosphere of witch-hunt that surrounded the expulsion of the leading activists in the socialist wing of the BC and Ont. NDY. The editors, all former NDYers, declared . . . "we remain 100% unconditional supporters of the NDP . . . We will continue to campaign to make the NDP a socialist party."

Off to a good start towards that goal, the first issue reports the recent BC and Ont. NDY conventions. Other articles appeal directly to Canadian youth on the fight against nuclear weapons and the problems of school graduates trying to find jobs. An article on "The Beatles", the British rock-and-rollers, is written in the spirit and humor that marks these four pages as distinctly a youth product.

The aim that the YSF has set itself, winning the youth of Canada to socialism is one that should give it the support of every worker. Fifty cents to YSF, Box 939, Adelaide St., P.O. Toronto, gets you ten issues.

READERS, CONTACT

in Montreal
Workers Vanguard
Box 140, Station N,
Montreal 18, Que.

in Toronto
League for Socialist Action
81 Queen St. W.

in Vancouver
League for Socialist Action
875 East Hasting St.